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EARLY TREATISES ON THE STAGE.

EARLY TREATISES ON THE STAGE;

VIZ.

NORTHBROOKE'S TREATISE AGAINST DICING,
DANCING, PLAYS, AND INTERLUDES;

ETC.

FROM THE EDITION PRINTED ABOUT 1557.

GOSSON'S SCHOOL OF ABUSE;

CONTAINING

A PLEASANT INVECTIVE AGAINST POETS, PIPERS, PLAYERS, AND JESTERS.

AND

HEYWOOD'S DEFENCE OF STAGE PLAYS.

PRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY,

AND TO BE HAD OF

W. SKEFFINGTON, AGENT TO THE SOCIETY, 192, PICCADILLY.

1853.

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A TREATISE

AGAINST

DICING, DANCING, PLAYS, AND
INTERLUDES.

WITH OTHER IDLE PASTIMES.

BY JOHN NORTHBROOKE,

MINISTER.

FROM THE EARLIEST EDITION, ABOUT A.D. 1577.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.



LONDON:
REPRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

1843.

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INTRODUCTION.

Although dramatic performances in England had been incidentally condemned in several anterior productions, the tract now reprinted is the earliest, separate, and systematic attack upon them. It therefore forms the first of the series of publications of the kind, which from time to time will be presented to the members of the Shakespeare Society, because such works are importantly illustrative of the condition and history of the stage, and of the nature and character of the pieces exhibited upon it, only a few years before our great dramatist joined a theatrical company in London.

It will be remarked that the title-page is without date; but it was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication in 1577, and there is little doubt that it came from the press either at the end of that year, or in the beginning of the next. A second edition of it, with the date of 1579, and with the name of Thomas Dawson as the printer,* is known: it differs in no respect from the earlier undated impression, an exact reprint of which

* The accurate Ritson appears to have supposed that there was but one edition of the tract—that printed in 1579, 4to. See *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 288.

is comprised in the ensuing pages. Either edition is of extremely rare occurrence. Malone could never procure the tract: he conjectured that it first appeared "about the year 1579 or 1580," and the only copies of the first impression with which we are acquainted are the one in the British Museum, and that from which our transcript was made.

It may be necessary to touch briefly upon the state and prospects of theatrical affairs, especially in London, out of which may be said to have grown this specimen of puritanical hostility.

Dramatic performances seem to have received a strong impulse almost from the moment Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne; and although the earliest public acts of her reign bore a somewhat hostile appearance (such, for instance, as the proclamation of the 16th of May, 1559) there is no doubt that in her own person, and by means of many of her nobility, she gave them much private encouragement. A remarkable and early proof of this fact has been handed down to our day in a letter from the great favourite, the Earl of Leicester, when Sir Robert Dudley, who, in June following the proclamation to which we have alluded in May, wrote the following letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, in favour of a company of actors, travelling round the country under the sanction of his name. The original is preserved in the Heralds' College, and we are indebted for a correct transcript of it to the kindness of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter. It has already been printed, but very defectively, in Lodge's "Illustrations of British History" (vol. i., p. 307); and

from thence in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," (vol. i., p. 170) and we are greatly obliged to Sir Charles G. Young for the means of giving so curious and interesting a document with the accuracy in such cases so desirable.

"My good Lorde,

"Where my servauntes, bringers hereof unto you, be suche as ar plaiers of interludes, and for the same haue the licence of diverse of my lordis here, under ther seales and handis, to plaie in diverse shieres within the realme under there auctorities, as maie ampie appere unto your L. by the same licence. I haue thought, emong the rest, my lettre to besече your good L. conformitie to them likewise, that they maie haue your hand and seale to ther license, for the like libertye in Yorke shiere; being honest men, and suche as shall plaie none other matters (I trust) but tollerable and convenient, whereof some of them haue bene herde here alreadie before diverse of my Lordis: for whome I shall haue good cause to thank your L. and to remaine your L. to the best that shall lie in my litle power. And thus I take my leave of your good L. From Westm. the of June, 1559.

"Your good L. assured,

"R. DUDDLEY.

"To the right Honourable, and my verie good
Lord, the Erle of Shrewisburie."

Of what actors the company of Sir Robert Dudley's players consisted in 1559, we are without information; but at that date, and for many years afterwards, the different companies, who either performed in London or in the provinces, exhibited in the name, and under the real or supposed patronage and protection of some nobleman, or other person of distinction. Let who would be Sir R. Dudley's theatrical servants, we find

them playing for the amusement of Queen Elizabeth, when she was at Saffron Walden,* in 1571.

* Bristol (where Northbrooke resided) seems from an early date to have been much frequented by different companies of players. Upon this point we are much indebted to Mr. Tyson, of that city, for the following valuable information, shewing, not only that the Earl of Leicester's players were there in the year between Michaelmas, 1577, and Michaelmas, 1578, but that the theatrical retainers of Lord Berkley, Lord Charles Howard, and Lord Sheffield also presented dramatic performances in Bristol. The extracts are from the original records of the corporation, and they are the more curious because the very names of the pieces represented are given in the entries.

First Quarter :

Third weke. Item, paid to my L. of Leycestre's players at the end of their play, in the Yeld hall, before Mr. Mayer and the Aldermen, and for lyngks to geve light in the evening, the play was called *Myngs*, the sume of xxij^s.

Fourth Quarter :

Seconde weke. Item, paid to my Lord Berckley's players, at thend of their play, in the Yeld hall, before Mr. Mayer and the Aldermen, the matters was *what mischief workith in the mind of man*. I say paid theym x^s.

Tenthe weke. Item, paid to my Lord Charles Haward's players, at the end of their play, before Mr. Mayer and the Aldermen, in the Yeldhall, their mattier was of *the Q. of Ethiopia*, x^s.

The xijth weke. Item, paid to my Lord Sheffield's players, at the end of their play, in the Yeld hall, before Mr. Mayer and the Aldermen, the play was called *The Court of Comfort*, xij^s. iiij^d.

What may have been the subject of the performance called *Myngs*, by the Earl of Leicester's players, perhaps it would be vain to conjecture. Mr. Tyson very plausibly suggests that the drama called *What Mischief Worketh in the Mind of Man*, might be the MS. drama called "Mankind," an analysis of which will be found in "The Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," ii. 293. *The Court*

“In 1572, [we quote “The History of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage,” vol. i., p. 203] we have a legislative proof, if any were wanting, of the extreme commonness of the profession of an actor over the whole kingdom. We have seen that companies of players, acting as the servants of the nobility, travelled round the country as early as the reign of Edward IV.; and from that date until 1572, itinerant performers, calling themselves the retainers of the nobility, had become so numerous, that it was found necessary to pass a statute for their regulation and control. The 14th of Elizabeth, c. 5, was devised for this purpose; and in sect. 5, it provides, that ‘all fencers, bearwards, common-players in interludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realm, or towards any other honourable personage of greater degree; all juglers, pedlars, tinkers, and petty chapmen, which said fencers, bearwards, common-players in interludes, and minstrels, &c. shall wander abroad, and not have license of two justices of the peace at the least, shall be deemed and dealt with as rogues and vagabonds.’ The evil was that many companies strolled about the kingdom without any authority or protection, although pretending to have it; and all such by the statute are declared rogues and vagabonds, and liable to the treatment and punishment inflicted upon such persons.”

The manner in, and the extent to which theatrical performances were at this period patronized by the

of Comfort, acted by Lord Sheffield’s players, was, no doubt, also a morality, or moral play; but *The Queen of Ethiopia* would seem to have been of a romantic, or historical character.

queen, is amply illustrated in curious detail by Mr. P. Cunningham, in his work entitled "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," printed by this Society. The documents are continued in a tolerably unbroken series, from 1571 to 1587, which last is about the date when it is conjectured Shakespeare first came to London, and attached himself to the company of players acting under the name and authority of the Lord Chamberlain.*

* Mr. Tyson of Bristol has also favoured us with the subsequent quotation from the records of the corporation, establishing that the players of the Lord Chamberlain, (the Earl of Sussex) acted there between the 29th of July and the 5th of August, 1576. Here likewise we have the name of the drama they represented :

"Fourth Quarter.

"Sixth Weke. Item paid to my Lord Chamberlayn's Players, at the end of their Play called *The Red Knight*, before Mr. Mayer and thaldermen in the Yeld hall, the sume of xx^s."

The subsequent memorandum, dated three weeks afterwards, most likely (as Mr. Tyson observes) relates to the same representation, and tends to show how much crowded the temporary theatre was on the occasion.

"Item paid for two ryngs of iren, to be set upon the houses of thouside of the Yeld hall dore, to rere the dore from the ground ; and for mending of the cramp iren which shutteth the barre, which cramp was stretchid with the presse of people at the play of my Lord Chamberleyn's servaunts in the Yeld hall, before Mr. Mayer and thaldermen, vjd."

As to the name of the play, Mr. P. Cunningham, in his "Extracts from the Revels' Accounts," p. 51, mentions "*Herpetulus*, the *blewe Knight*," but we know nothing of any drama of the time called "*The Red Knight*."

Edward Alleyn and his company were playing at Bristol in 1593. See his *Memoirs*, printed by this Society, p. 25.

The Lord Mayor and aldermen of London seem at all times to have shown themselves determined opponents of theatrical representations within the boundary to which their power extended. On the other hand, some leading personages among the nobility endeavoured to obtain for regular associations of players an established footing within the city; and it is a fact which was not known to any historian of our early stage, that in the spring of 1573, a person of the name of Holmes had been appointed by the Lord Chamberlain to select places within the city for the performance of plays and interludes. This attempt was instantly resisted by the metropolitan authorities, as is evident from the subsequent original letter, signed by the Lord Mayor for the time being, by six of the aldermen, and by eleven other members of the corporation. It is copied from the original in the Cotton MSS., Roll xxvi., 41.

“To the right honorable, our singuler good Lord, the Erle of Sussex, Lord Chamberlan of the Quene’s Ma^{ties} most honorable houshold.

“Our dutie to yo^r good L. humbly done. Where yo^r L. hath made request in favor of Mr. Holmes, for our assent that he might haue the apointement of places for playes and enterludes within this citie. It may please your L. to reteine vndouted assurance of our redinesse to gratifie, in any thing that we reasonably may, any persone whom yo^r. L. shal favor and commend. Howbeit this case is such, and so nere touching the governance of this citie in one of the greatest maters therof, namely, the assemblies of multitudes of the Quene’s people, and regard to be had to sondry inconveniences wherof the peril is continually vpon euerie occasion to be foreseen by the rulers of this citie, that we can not, with our duties, byside the president farre extending to the hurt of our liberties, well assent that the sayd apointement of places be committed to any priuate persone.

For which, and other resonable considerations, it hath long since pleased yo^r. good L., among the rest of her mat^{ies} most honorable counsell, to rest satisfied with our not graunting the like to such persone, as by their most honorable lettres was heretofore in like case commended vnto vs. Byside that, if it might with resonable conuenience be graunted, great offres haue ben, and be made for the same, to the relefe of the poore in the hospitalles, which we hold vs assured that yo^r. L. will well allow that we preferre, before the benefit of any priuate persone. And so we commit yo^r. L. to the tuition of Almighty God. At London, this second of March, 1573.

“ Yo^r. L. humble

“ Iohn Ryvers, Maio^r.
 “ Row. Haywarde, Alder.
 “ William Allyn, Aldarman.
 “ Leonell Duckett, Alder.
 “ Jaruys Haloys, Aldarman.
 “ Ambrose Nicholas, Ald.
 “ John Langley, Ald.
 “ Thomas Ramsey.
 “ Wylliam Bond.
 “ Iohn Olyffe.
 “ Richard Pype.
 “ W^m. Box.
 “ Thomas Blanke.
 “ Nicholas Woodrof.
 “ John Branch.
 “ Anthony Gamage.
 “ Wyllm. Kympton.
 “ Wolstan Dixe.”

It appears from other documents that the Lord Mayor and his brethren were successful in their opposition to the wishes of the court, and that no companies of players, from that time to the present, ever obtained any fixed place of exhibition within the limits of the City of London. It was only two months after the date

of the preceding remonstrance, that the queen, at the instance of the Earl of Leicester, issued a privy seal for the grant of a patent under the great seal to James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, empowering them to act comedies, tragedies, interludes, and stage plays, not only in any part of the country, but “within our city of London, and liberties of the same.” The copy of this instrument, preserved among Rymer’s unpublished papers, does not contain the important clause respecting the city of London; and it seems probable, as it certainly never was acted upon, that it was not included in the patent itself, which was made out in pursuance of the privy seal. That theatrical performances took place on different occasions in the city is quite clear, but they were exhibitions in inn-yards (surrounded by galleries) which for the time were converted into theatres. The father of Edward Alleyn (founder of Dulwich College) was an inn-holder in Bishopgate, and there can be little doubt that his yard was employed in this way, and that thus his son became originally connected with the stage. (See the *Memoirs of Alleyn*, p. 3.)

The different companies having been thus excluded from any permanent establishment in the city, began about this date to fix themselves in the liberties and suburbs; and, as nearly as can be ascertained, no fewer than three theatres were constructed in the years 1575 and 1576. These were the Blackfriars’ Theatre, within the precinct of the dissolved monastery; the Curtain, in Shoreditch, and a house which was always called by the name of The Theatre, in its immediate vicinity. Of the

two last, we apprehend, the following tract contains the earliest mention by name ; because, although it is stated in "The Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," vol. iii., p. 265, that in the first edition of Lambarde's "Perambulation of Kent," 4to, 1576, there is a notice of "The Theatre," a subsequent reference to that volume has not confirmed the statement, originally made by Strutt in his "Sports and Pastimes."

Various writers of the time bear witness to the extreme popularity of dramatic representations about this date ; and they took place not only during the week, but especially on Sundays.* They were frequently denounced from the pulpit ; and one divine, of the name of White, in a sermon delivered at Paul's Cross, on the 9th Dec.,

* A sermon preached by John Stockwood in 1578 contains some very singular and, as far as our memory goes, un-reprinted notices upon this point. "If you resorte," (says he) "to the Theatre, the Curtaine, and other places of playes in the citey, you shall, on the Lorde's daye, haue these places so full as possibly they can throng."

Northbrooke was only just anterior to Stockwood in his mention of the Theatre and Curtain by name ; and he, too, at the same time, speaks of "such like places besides," alluding, perhaps, among others, to the Blackfriars' theatre, built, as is believed, in 1575. When Stockwood tells us that the Theatre and Curtain were "in the city," he means in the immediate vicinity of the city, for they were in Shoreditch, and looked into the fields. See Stow's "Survey of London," by Thoms, p. 158. Stockwood adds as follows, which is an extremely strange and curious piece of information :—

"Insomuche that in some places they [the players] shame not in the tyme of divine service to come and dance about the church, and without to have naked men dauncing in nettes, which is most filthie ; for the heathen, that had never further knowledge than the light of nature, haue counted it shamefull for a player to come on the stage without a slop."

1576 (printed by F. Coldock, in 1578, 12mo), exclaims, "Looke but upon the common playes in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them, and followeth them : beholde the sumptuous theatre houses, a continual monument of London's prodigality and folly." He afterwards proceeds : "But the old world is matched, and Sodome overcome ; for more horrible enormities, and swelling sins are set out by those stages, than euery man thinks for, or some would believe, if I shold paint them out in their colours."

Northbrooke wrote his "Treatise" against Dicing, Dancing, Vain Plays, or Interludes about the year 1576 : indeed, as it was entered for publication at Stationers' Hall in 1577, we may fairly presume that it was penned just after the Theatre, the Curtain, and the play-house in the liberty of Blackfriars had been constructed and opened. The reader may find a good deal of heavy wading at the commencement of the tract, where the author dilates upon the evils of idleness generally, and is not behind any of his contemporaries in the abundance of his quotations from Scripture. However, even in this part of his work there is much that is characteristic of the times, and amusingly illustrative of prevailing manners ; as, for instance, where, in his prefatory matter, he observes : "If a man be a royster, and knoweth how to fight his fight, then he is called by the name of honesty : if he can kill a man, and dare rob upon the high way, he is called a tall man, and a valiant man of his hands : if he can dice-playe and daunce, hee is named a proper and a fyne nimble man : if he will loyter and live idly upon other mens labours, and sit all day and night

at cards and dice, he is named a good companion, a shop-fellow : if he can swear and stare, they say he hath stout courage," &c. "What is a man now a dayes if he know not fashions, and how to weare his apparel after the best fashion? to kepe company, and to become mummers and dice-players, and to play their twentie, fortie, or 100^{li} at cards, dice, &c., poste, cente, gleke, or such other games : if he cannot thus do, he is called a myser, a wretch, a lobbe, a clowne, and one that knoweth no felowship nor fashions, and less honestie." Such passages as these the reader must be content to receive, as a compensation for much that may be considered dry and dull, but which could not be omitted when we undertook to present the whole tract of so early a date, and upon so important a subject, in its original and ungarbled state.

The performance of "histories out of the Scriptures" is strongly censured on p. 92 ; but the passage on p. 94, where the author speaks of the general nature of theatrical representations in his time, is very remarkable, since we have nothing of so remote a period which proves the great variety of subjects then actually exhibited on our public stages. Here allowance must, we apprehend, be made for the heated zeal of the author, and for the strong and sometimes coarse language he employs ; but the effect of what he says is that, even as early as 1576, stories of every kind, and of every age, were converted to the purposes of the drama.

The writer was a staunch Protestant, but we hardly know how to call him a puritan, considering the liberality of some of his notions ; as, for instance, where he

allows of academic and school plays, p. 103, although he so strenuously resists any public performances of the kind. In the same spirit he tells us, p. 52, that he does not object to "honest recreation, and done with moderation;" and afterwards, p. 65, he goes so far as to admit that it may be proper even to make hay on a Sunday; though in the very next page he breaks out into most zealous railing against papists and heretics, and in a fire-and-faggot fury justifies their utter destruction and extermination.

His arguments against "vain plays and interludes," by which, of course, he means dramatic representations such as they then existed, occupy much of his treatise; and it is singular that, while condemning every thing like plays, he conveys his arguments in a dramatic form—a dialogue between Youth and Age. The first is a very misguided, but extremely docile and easily convinced pupil, and the last a very learned, patient, and pious man, who has innumerable texts at his fingers' ends, and is extremely well seen in the fathers and early divines. Stephen Gosson was guilty of a somewhat similar inconsistency in his "Plays confuted, in Five Actions,"* meaning *five acts*, like those of a play; and Prynne, following in the same track about fifty

* This very valuable tract in relation to the early condition of our stage, and the performances then popular upon it (which we shall reprint on some future occasion) came out without date about the year 1581, after Lodge had produced his reply to the "School of Abuse," 1579. We make the following quotation from "Plays confuted in Five Actions," which will shew how interesting it is, if only with reference to Gosson's personal history, to say nothing of the highly curious information it supplies respecting various plays,

years afterwards, not only divides his "*Histriomastix*" into acts, but subdivides it into scenes. In the course of his work, Prynne makes not a little use of Northbrooke, and tells us, on p. 485 of his *Histriomastix*, that this "Treatise" was printed "by authority." There is, certainly, no writer who conveys such a notion of the excess to which theatrical amusements were then carried; and, on pp. 82, 84, 88, 91, 94, and 101 of our reprint, will be found passages which establish how extraordinary a portion of public attention was directed to them. Northbrooke sometimes enters into minutiae on the subject; and what he says, on p. 102, on the subject of play-bills, recollecting that he wrote so early,

most of which are spoken of by their titles, and some few of which have survived to our own day.

"I was very willing [says Gosson, addressing the students of both universities] to write at this time, because I was informed by some of you, which heard it with your ears, that, since my publishing *The Schole of Abuse*, two plays of my making were brought to the stage: the one was a cast of Italian devises, called *The Comedie of Captain Mario*, the other a Moral, *Praise at Parting*. These they very impudently affirme to be written by me, since I had set out my invective against them. I can not denie they were both mine, but they were both penned two yeares at the least before I forsoke them, as by their own friends I am able to prove; but they haue got such a custome of counterfaiting upon the stage, that it is growne to a habit, and will not be lefte . . . I could purge my self of this sclaunder in many words, both how I departed from the city of London, and bestowed my time in teaching yong gentlemen in the countrie, where I continue with a very worshipfull gentleman, and reade to his sonnes in his owne house; but the men are so vaine, and their credite so light, that the least worde I speake is inough to choke them."—Sign. A 8.

is very curious. We know of but one older authority on the point : Strype, in his "Life of Grindall," informs us that, before 1563, the Archbishop had complained to the Queen's secretary of the players who "then daily, but especially on the holidays, set up their bills, inviting to plays."

Northbrooke's "Inuectiues" against dicing and dancing form a separate portion of his tract. The former had been violently and frequently assailed many years before, and the last continued to be attacked for many years afterwards, by the enemies of such recreations. We introduce here the name of that excellent and elegant scholar, Thomas Newton, of Chester, because he was one of the few who, while he opposed gaming with much vigour, and incidentally touched upon 'theatrical amusements with some censure, did not go all lengths with their bigoted adversaries : in his "Treatise touching Dyce-play, and Prophane Gaming," 1586, he remarks, "Augustine forbiddeth us to bestowe any money for the seeing of stage-playes and enterludes, or to give any thing unto players therein ; and yet these kind of persons doe, after a sorte, let out their labour unto us, and their industrie many times is laudable."

Respecting the author of the following pages we know little or nothing. He tells us himself, in the course of his work, that he was born in Devonshire ; but, at the earliest period at which we hear of him, he dates "from Redcliffe in Bristol : " this was in the year 1571, when, with the same motto as that at the head of the present "Treatise," he published a small work, called "A breefe and pithie summe of the Christian faith ;"

and on the title-page of that tract he also calls himself "Minister and Preacher of the Word of God." It was reprinted in 1582; and a third production by him was so popular as to have gone through at least four impressions: it was entitled "The Poor Man's Garden;" but the only edition with a date seems to have been the last, in 1600. When it first appeared we have no means of ascertaining. He always seems to have been resident in or near Bristol; from thence he dates the dedication of his "Treatise" against dicing, dancing, and plays, although "From Henbury" is at the close of the address to the Reader.

He has obtained a place in Ritson's "*Bibliographia Poetica*," (p. 288) in consequence of the scraps of translated verse dispersed through the ensuing pages, besides the "Admonition to the Reader," which introduces the text. He seems to rhyme with some facility for the period at which he lived; and, although it cannot be said that he versifies his originals with exactness and brevity, he conveys accurately the point and meaning of his author. His Latin prose quotations, especially from the Fathers, are extremely numerous, and as it was impossible to verify them, by reference to the works from which they were taken, without more research than the subject seemed to require, they have generally been left in the state in which he allowed them to go forth to the world.

J. P. C.

Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra.

A TREATISE

wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes, or Enterluds, with other idle pastimes, &c., commonly vsed on the Sabbath day, are reprobued by the Authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers.

Made Dialoguewise by John Northbrooke, Minister
and Preacher of the word of God.

Cicero de officijs, lib i.

*We are not to this ende borne that we should seeme to be created
for play and pastime ; but we are rather borne to
sagenesse, and to certaine grauer
and greater studies.*

AT LONDON

Imprinted by H. Bynneman for George Byshop.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir Iohn Yong, Knight, his
 singular friend, Iohn Northbrooke, wisheth
 increase of faith and knowledge in
 Iehu Christ, continuall health,
 ioyful prosperity, wyth
 as much increase
 of worship.

When I cal to minde (right worshipful) the excellent
 saying of the diuine philosopher, that sayth, *Non nobis
 solum nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat,
 partem parentes, partem amici*, &c.—We be borne not for
 our selues alone, but some parte of our birth our country,
 some part our parents, some part our friends do claim, &c.
 (Plato did know only by the light of natural reason, that
 al excellence and good gifts came of God, and were giuen
 to the intente that a man should therewith helpe and
 profit others : of like opinion were all the philosophers,
 which had tasted of honest discipline and learning) made
 me to enterprise, and take this treatise in hand, that I
 mought thereby helpe those that are diseased with any
 of these diseases, either of dice-playing, dauncing, or vain
 playes or enterludes, which raighneth too too much by
 so much amongst Christians (especially in these dayes and
 light of the gospel of Christ, &c.) : whosoever doth think
 himselfe to be a member of the commonwealth of Christ
 (which is his mistical body), he must nedes much more
 be inforced, of Christian knowledge and charitie, to im-
 ploy his labours in bestowing those giftes which God hath
 giuen him to the profit of others, than those philosophers
 which knew not God aright in his word through Jesus
 Christ.

Cicero lib. 1.
 de officiis.

1 Cor. 10, 24

James, 1, 17

1 Cor. 12, 12, Saint Paul verie aptly (by a similitude) compareth the
 14, 20 church of Christ to a natural bodie, &c. As in the na-
 Col. 1, 18 tural bodie euery member helpeth the whole ; for we see
 Rom. 12, 4, 5, that there is in a natural bodie such an affection and de-
 6, 7 sire of euery member to helpe and maintaine the other,
 1 Cor. 12, 15, that not only the senses be ready to do their part and
 16, 17, 21, 22, office — as the eie to see, the eare to heare, the nose to
 27 smel, the tong to tast, &c., and so likewise in the rest
 1 Cor. 12, 26 of the senses—but also all the other parts of the bodie do
 so much care for the whole, that they refuse no danger
 (though it be neuer so great) to helpe and succour the
 same.

If anie man, then, which beareth the name of a Chris-
 Gol. 6, 1, 2 tian, and of a gospeller, shall espy forth any thing that
 Col. 3, 16 may conduce and benefite the mystical bodie, and doeth not
 Proverb., 27, his endeaour to the uttermost to bring the same there-
 23 unto, verily he is to be thought an vnprofitable member,
 Col. 1, 18 not worthy (in my iudgement) to be accounted of that
 Ephe. 5, 23 number of whom Iesus Christ is the head ; and also that
 he had not tasted of the spirit of God, which neither
 moued with example of the heathen, nor with loue to-
 wards the brethren, considering the great dangers that
 might ensue here upon, would take some paines, and en-
 deavour to procure medicines, so farforth as in him lieth,
 to ease and helpe the same: which (to my exiled and
 slender leaning) haue made this little treatise againste
 diceplaying, dauncing, and vaine playes or enterludes,
 giuing herein medicines and remedies against these
 diseases, which most of all trouble the whole members of
 the body. Although in the first it seeme not toothsome,
 yet I dare avouch it is wholesome.

We can be content (for the health of our bodies) to
 drink sharpe potions, receiue and indure the operation of
 enbreame purges, to obserue precise and hard diets, and
 to bridle our affections and desires, &c. : much shold we so

do for the health of our soules. And wher shold we seeke for this health of our soules, but only in Christ Iesus, who is our only phisition, who calleth euery one to himselfe that is burdened and heauy loden, and he will refresh them? this is that fyrie serpent, that as many as looke vpon him should liue; this is that isope that purgeth us; this is that red cow without blemish not vsed to the yoke, that maketh vs white; this is that sparrow which was slaine, &c. to set vs at libertie; this is the lambe that taketh away our sinnes, original and actual; this is the pelican which giueth out his own hart blood to remain as his yong ones, that haue beene stung to death by the poyson of Satan. As S. Ambrose saith: *Omnia Christus est nobis: si vulnus curare desideras, medicus est: si febribus estuas, fons est: si grauaris iniquitate, iusticia est: si auxilio indiges, virtus est: si mortem times, vita est: si cælum desideras, via est: si tenebras fugis, lux est: si cibum quæris, alimentum est. Gustate igitur, et videte quam suavis est dominus, beatus vir qui sperat in eo.* That is: If thou desire to be healed (of thy disease), Christ is thy phisition; if thou wilt have awaie the burning ague (of sinne), he is thy colde fountaine; if thou be grieved with thine iniquities, he is thy righteousness; if thou be weake, he is thy strength; if thou fearest death, he is thy life; if thou desirest heauen, he is the way; if thou wilt avoyde darknesse, hee is light; if thou be hungry, he is thy nourishment. O! taste, therefore, and see how sweete the lord is: blessed is the man that trusteth in him. After I had gathered together this simple worke (which lay far abroad), and had so finished this treatise, I mused with my selfe unto what patron I mought best direct the same. In fine, I found none more fit than your worship, considering your vertuous and godly disposition, which answereth your zealous and true profession

Esay, 53, 4
 Luke, 9, 17
 Cap. 11, 28
 Numb. 21, 9
 Cap. 3, 16
 1 Cor. 6, 11,
 12

Ambros. lib.
 5, de Virgini-
 bus

of the gospel (for I am assured you utterlye defie and detest al kinde of Poperie whatsoever) ; and for that I perceiue my selfe something addict and tyed, with the bondes of singular and great friendship flowing from you to me, in recompence wherof (bicause I haue none other treasure to exhibite unto you, but onlie this little talent of my base and simple learning) I do here dedicate unto youre worship this booke (named a Treatise against Dice-playing, Dauncing, & vain Playes or Enterluds), although rude and homely, yet (I doubt not) plaine and profitable for these times of ours, wherein we live : wherein I haue to crave (that nothing more hartily I can obtest than) your friendly acceptance of the same ; for it is a token of my hearty good wil, remembring the worthie deed of the famous Persian prince, Artaxerxes, so much of everie one commended. I humblie obtest your friendlie countenance, and be my strong bulwarke against the fuming freates and belching ires of saucie sicophants, diceplayers, dauncers, and players ; which if you do, I haue my whole desire, and continuallie I wil poure out prayers unto the Lord of heauen and earth to send you in this earthlie mansion continual encrease of faith, knowledge, and zeale in the gospel of Christ Jesu, with prosperitie and accesse of manie blessed and happie yeares with your good ladie (Sarah), and after this life neuer ceasing, and endless ioyes in the heavenly seniorie.

At Bristow,

Yours to vse in the Lord,

JOHN NORTHBROOKE, Preacher.

TO THE CHRISTIAN AND FAITHFUL READER.

If such men as wil be taken for Christians would flee, and abhorre so much the deedes of the Epicures and Saduces (gentle reader) as they pretend to detest the name and profession of them, veryle they would refraine and temper themselues from wickednesse and mischief, and would use and exercise vertuous and godly life, no lesse than they now liue obstinatly in vice, and behaue themselues in al their doings both wickedly and ungodly, And againe, they woulde none otherwise obserue and kepe the commaundements of Almighty God, then they now neither feare him, nor dread him at all.

But undoubtedly there is not one almost, which doth so much abhorre the thing itself in his harte (which thing may plainely appeare by our dayly conversation, our maners, and all that euer we do) as we eschew and flee the name; for how can those men be assured in their consciences that soules are immortal, which for the most part liue as brute beastes do? Or that there be rewards reposed for the godly in heauen, or punishment ordeyned for wicked men in hel, which do in no maner thing feare to transgresse and breake the commaundments of God, and do fal headlong into al kinde of vice and enormities, as though they did imagin, that either God is but a iesting stocke, and a fayned thing, or the soules and bodies do dye both at once? (as Pope Iohn the two and twentieth held).

Rom. 2, 17,
18, 19, 20, 21,
22, 24
1 Timo. 5, 6
Gala. 2, 14
John, 8, 42
2 Timo. 3, 5
Rom. 2, 28, 29

Wisdom, 2, 3,
4
Gene. 2, 7
1 Reg. 10, 4
Psalm 31, 5
Ecclesi. 3, 21
Psal. 32, 9
Mat. 10, 28
Luke 23, 46
Acts, 7, 59
Revel. 6, 9
Mat. 5, 11
2 Timo. 4, 8
Wisdom, 1, 10
Mat. 25, 41
Rom. 1, 18
Phil. 3, 18, 19
1 Cor. 6, 9, 10
Revel. 22, 15
Psal. 14, 4, 8,
53, 7
2 Pet. 3, 3
Jud. 1, 18
2 Esdras, 1, 58

2 Pet. 3, 10 Now, I beseech thee (gentle reader) what man is there,
 Job, 14, 1 whome either the feare of God's iustice doth withdraw
 Luke, 3, 4 from vice and sin, or yet doth induce and bring in minde
 Psal. 30, 4 to reforme and amende his life? wherein thou mayest
 1 Thes. 5, 2
 Wisd. 11, 8 iustly lament and bewaile the folly and state of men, and
 Mat. 3, 2
 Wisd. 12, 1, 2, much wonder at their blindnesse, or rather madnessse,
 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 which, in such shortnesse and uncertainty of life, do so
 Psal. 90, 10 behaue themselves that they haue no mind of any reforma-
 Wisd. 11, 9, 10 tion or amendment of our life, when we bee croked for
 1 Pet. 1, 24 olde age, and haue then scarcely one day to liue: far off
 1 Pet. 4, 7 is it that we go about, or intend that thing when we be
 2 Pet. 2, 19, 20 yonkers, and in our flourishing age. When I remember
 with myselfe that such is the follie of men, or madness
 Eccle. 5, 7 rather (as I may well cal it) in deferring the reformation
 2 Pet. 10, 12, of their life and manners, maketh me sorrowful.
 13, 14
 1 Pet. 4, 3 It is a world to see and behold wicked people, how
 Esay. 5, 20 they wrest and turne the names of good things vnto the
 Mat. 11, 18, names of vices. As, if a gentleman haue in him any
 19 humble behauiour, then the roysters cal such one by the
 2 Pet. 2, 12 name of loute, a clinchpoup, or one that knoweth no
 fashions. If a man talke godly and wisely, the wordlings
 deride it, and say the yong fox preacheth, beware youre
 geese, and of a yong saint groweth an old deuil: if a man
 1 Peter, 4, 3, 4 will not dice and play, then he is a nigard and a miser,
 and no good fellow: if he be no dauncer, he is a fool
 and blockhead, &c. If a man be a royster, and knowing
 how to fight his fight, then he is called by the name of
 honesty. If he can kil a man, and dare rob vpon the
 high way, he is called a tall man, and a valiant man of
 1 Timo. 5, 13 his hands: if he can dice, playe, and daunce, hee is
 Ephes. 4, 28 named a proper and a fine nimble man: if he wil loyter
 Eccle. 13, 16, and liue idly vpon other mens labours, and sit all day
 17, 18, 19 and night at cards and dice, he is named a good compa-
 Esay. 5, 11, 12 nion, and a shopfellow: if he can sweare and stare, they
 say hee hath a stout courage: if he be a whoremaster,

they say hee is an amorous loue and Venus byrde, it is the course of youth, he will leaue it when he is olde, &c. Vpon these people will fall that woe and curse, that Esay the prophet doth pronounce, saying, Woe vnto them that speake good of euil, and euil of good; which put drunkenesse for light, and light for drunkenesse; that put bitter for swete, and swete for sowre. Salust also speaketh of them, saying, *Jampridem equidem vera rerum vocabula amisimus, quia bona aliena largire liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur*, that is to saye: Now of late days we haue lost the true names of things, because the giuing away of other mens goods is called liberalitie, and vnshamefastnesse in noughtie things is called high or gentle courage.

What is a man now a dayes if he know not fashions, and how to wear his apparel after the best fashion, to kepe company, and to become mummers and diceplayers, and to play their twentie, forty, or 100 li. at cards, dice, &c. post, cente, gleke, or such other games? If he cannot thus do, he is called a miser, a wretche, a lobbe, a clowne, and one that knoweth no fellowship nor fashions, and lesse honestie. And by such kinde of playes manie of them are broughte into great miserie and penurye. And there are fiae causes hereof (as I iudge) specially among al the rest.

First is vnbeleife: for if we supposed not that those things were fables, which are mentioned in the scriptures of the last day of iudgement, and of the voyce of the arch-angell, and of the trump of God, and of the throne of God's seate, wherat all men must stand, of the punishment of the wicked, and the euerlasting and blessed life which the godly after this miserable life shal enjoy, of the resurrection of the bodies and soules, eyther to be partakers togither of certaine ioye, or else of certaine paine, and also shall giue his accompt of al things which

Esay. 5, 20

Sallust de
coniuratione
Catilinaria

1 Pet. 44

Prouer. 23, 20,
21
Cap. 28, 19
Eccle. 15, 11,
12Iohn. 5, 25,
28, 29
Mat. 25, 41,
46
2 Pet. 3, 10,
11, 12
1 Thes. 5, 2
Cap. 4, 16
Mat. 25, 42
1 Cor. 2, 9
Ca. 15, 42, 43
44
1 Thes. 17

he hath done, either intended, bythought, saide, or done, and how he hath vsed God's giftes and creatures, towards his needy members, &c. without all doubt and question they would not liue thus ydly and naughtily as they do.

Ecclesi. 5, 6
Ezech. 18, 32
2 Pet. 3, 9
Rom. 2, 4

The second cause is, the boldnesse (to sinne) vpon God's mercie. This boldnesse is great in very deede, but yet it is such as they may well enough deceiue themselves withal; for of boldnesse they haue no sure trial at al. So Salomon saith, Say not, the mercy of God is great, he will forgiue me my manifold sinnes; for mercy and wrath came from him, and his indignation cometh down vpon sinners, &c. With this boldnesse, I say, the wicked enimie of mankind kepeth man in sinne continually; but like as God granteth forgiuenesse at the first to the repentaunt, so doth he also sharply punish those sinners which doe continue obstinately (without repentance) in vice and sin: for such men, then, as repent not vnfaignedly, and purpose to lead newe liues, conceiue a false hope and boldnesse of the mercie of God. And by this meanes that the diuell setteth forth to men this boldnesse, he bringeth this to passe, that they liue on forth, quietly and securely, in vice and wickednesse, and thinke little or nothing with themselves at any time of anye reformation or amendment. And herein they despise the aboundance and riches of the bountifulnesse and long suffering of God, being ignorant that the goodnesse of God doth induce, and lead vnto repentance.

Wisdo. 14, 15
Leuit. 18, 30
Iereme. 13, 23
Ecclesi. 4, 12,
12

The third cause is the custome of sinne, which is in a manner made naturall in long continuance. For like as it is harde for a man to alter nature, so custome, if it be once rooted, cannot easily bee plucked vp and expelled; and therefore it is, that learned men doe cal custome another nature. It is, as a certaine wise man saith, such

vices as we haue accustomed ourselves to from our tender age cannot be without difficulty weeded out afterward ; whiche thing, though it be very certaine and true, yet who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering, and pampering them ? from their infancie they bee giuen to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle pleasures and pastimes.

Ephe. 6, 4
Eccle. 30, 7, 9

What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauiour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and ietting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playing, dauncing, and diceing, with other like felowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see : and the parents can hereat reioice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to their children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauiouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice ? whereof they will always taste, as *Horace* said : *Horatius*
Quod nova testa capit, inveterata sapit.

Eccle. 30, 11,
12, 13

The vessel will conserue the tast
Of lycour very long,
With which it was first seasoned,
And thereof smel ful strong :
Euen so a child, if that he be
In tender yeares brought vp
In vertues schoole, and nurtred wel,
Wil smel of vertue's cup.

If these men, therefore, at any time do purpose to re pent them and reform their liuing, as when their conscience moueth them, or the burthen of their sinne pricketh them, yet custome hath so prevailed in them, Eccle. 5, 7
that they fal into worse and worse enormities, and like mad men d sire the reformation of their life.

Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers,

Prouerb, 13,
24
Cap. 23, 13
Ecclesi. 7, 23
Cap. 30, 1

and lusty brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers in matters of the common welth, which by their fathers have beene thus wantonly cockered vp, neuer correcting them, or chastising them for any faults and offences whatsoever. What other thing but this is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues? that we haue such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy liuers are spred about in euery quarter, but onely naughty education and bringing vp. Wel then, such as impute this thing to the new learning, and preaching of the Gospell are shamefully deceiued, hauing no iudgement to iudge of things. No, no; the new learning, and preaching of the Gospell is not the cause hereof, but the naughty, wanton, and foolish bringing vp of children by their parents, as I have declared.

Luke, 14, 23
Deut. 21, 18,
19, 20, 21

Also the slacknesse, and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their liuing in belly cheare and vnthriftinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion giuen to offend, and also good men should not haue so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office; for he beareth not his sworde for naught, for he is God's minister, and a farther of the country, appointed of God to punish offenders: but now a dayes, by reason of libertie of punishment and slacknesse of men in office, which wink at their faults, causeth so many idle players and dauncers to come to the gallows as there are; for, as the wise man sayeth, whoso prohibiteth not men so to offend, when hee may,

O in a maner commandeth them so to do: for it is better
 M to be a subject to a magistrate vnder whom nothing is law-
 J ful, than vnder him to whom all things is lawful. I feare
 X me gretly, therefore, least the heathens men's seueritie and
 streightnesse in punishing vice shal be a reproch to our
 magistrates, and accuse them at the last day for their
 negligence and slacknesse herein. It is not inough to
 punish sinne only, but also to preuent and take away the
 causes thereof.

Mat. 11, 20,
 21, 22, 23, 24
 Luke, 10, 12,
 13, 14

/ The fourth cause is, securitie in wealth and prosperity, Luke, 12, 15
 - which doth inebriate the mindes of men in such sort, that
 7 they neyther remember God, nor constantly purpose to
 reforme and amende their liues. Therefore, it was wel
 sayd of one, that like as of prosperity riot proceedeth,
 2 euen so of riot cometh both other common vices, and
 0 also vngodlinesse, and the neglecting of God's word and
 2 commandements. And, as *Seneca* affirmeth, that into
 T great wealth and prosperity (as it was continual drow- Seneca
 / kennesse) men fal into a sweet and pleasant sleepe:
 for, as Publius sayeth, riches maketh him a foole whom Publius
 she cockereth so much. Paul also willeth that warning
 should be given to the rich men, that they wax not
 M proude, nor have their affiance in vncertaine riches, but
 M in the liuing God, to do good, and to be rich in good
 workes.

1 Timo. 17, 18

J This securitie is verily the mother of all vice, for by
 J the same a man is made vnsensible, so that in his con-
 J science he feeleth not the anger and wrath of God
 against sinne: by securitie men's mindes are brought
 0 into a dead sleepe, that they bee not pierced one whit
 with the feare of God's punishment, or with the feare of
 death, or of the last day, to leaue off their vice and sin.
 This securitie Christ artificiallie painteth out in Luke,
 where mention is made of the rich man, which, when his
 land had enriched and made him wealthy with a fruitful

1 Thes. 5, 1
 Judges, 18, 7,
 10
 2. Pet. 2, 19

Luke, 12, 16
 Ecclesi. 11, 19

and plentiful croppe, did not goe about to reforme his liuing, and to repent, nor to bestow almes vpon the poore, but studied how to enlarge his barnes, and to make more roome for his corne, and sayd, Now, my soule, thou hast a great deale layd vp for thee, which will last thee for many yeares; now, therefore, take thy rest, eate, drinke, and be of good cheare. But in this securitie, what heard he of God: Thou foole, this night thy soule shall be taken away, &c. Markest thou not how death cometh sodainly vpon him, thinking to haue had al the commodities and pleasures of the world, as ease, rest, delicious fare, pastimes, delectations, and safegard of all his goods.

For this cause, then, Paule commaundeth vs to awake, and to be in readinesse against the coming of the Lord. Christ our Sauour also saith, Watch and pray, least you enter into tentation; againe, Take heed to yourselues, least at any time your heartes bee oppressed with surfiting, and dronkenness, and cares of this life, and least that day come on you vnawares. For as a snare shal it come vpon al them that dwell vpon the face of the earth, like as it befell and happened in the time of Noe, when al the world was drowned, and in the time of Lot, when Sodom was burned with fire from heauen, so verily the last day shall come sodainely, and at the twinkling of an eye, euen when men loke least for it. These things might be faire examples and sufficient warnings for us, if we were not more than senselesse.

The fift cause, is the hope of long life. Among many euilles and naughty affections which follow the nature of man, corrupted by sinne, none bringeth greater inconuenience than the inordinate hope of long life: as Cicero saith, no man is so old and aged, that he perswadeth not himselfe that he may liue a whole yeare. This is the cause why we defer the reformation of our liues, and remember not that we haue an account to make at the last

1 Cor. 16, 13

Col. 4, 2

1 Thes. 5, 6,

7, 8

1 Pet. 5, 8

Mat. 26, 41

Cap. 24, 42,

43, 44, 45, 46,

48, 49, 50, 51

Luke 21, 34,

35

Genes. 7, 5

Luke, 17, 26,

27, 28, 29

Mat. 24, 38

Pet. 3, 20

Luke, 17, 39

1 Cor. 10, 6

Wisdo. 3, 17,

18

James, 4, 13,

14

Luke, 16, 2

Ecclesi. 5, 7

Gala. 6, 7, 8,

9, 10

1 Kings, 10, 1

2 Chron. 9, 1

Luke, 11, 31,

32

Iob. 3, 5

day. It is to be wondered that men do put off, and defer such a great and weighty matter, and loke no more of a thing which profiteth so much, and is so necessarie vnto saluation. The very heathen I feare me shal in the last iudgement be a reproach to us Christians, in that we are so slouthfull, and haue almost minde at no time to repent and amend our liuings. Pythagoras rule and custome was, when he went to take reste, to reckon and call to remembrance what thing soeuer he had said or done, good or bad, the day before; which *Virgil*, speaking of a godlye and vertuous man, painteth out to us learnedly, how he neuer slept till he called to remembrance al things that he did that day, &c. I cannot let passe that which Seneca speaketh of this form and order: Sextus (saith he) at the euening ere he went to rest, accustomed to aske of his minde certain questions: what ill and naughty condition hast thou this day amended? what vice hast thou withstanded? what art thou better now than when thou diddest arise? and after he addeth this: what better forme can there be than this, to examine the whole day againe in this wise? And this rule Saint Paule giueth also, saying, Let a man, therefore, examine himselfe, &c., if we would iudge ourselues, we should not be iudged.

Pythagoras
custome

Virgil

Seneca
Sextus.
Ecclesi. 4, 25
Ezra, 10, 1
Job, 40, 9
Cap. 10, 15
Cap. 31, 1
Prouerb, 28, 13
1 Cor. 11, 28
2 Cor. 13, 5
1 Cor. 11, 31

But now, of the contrarie, let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest and slepe. How we are occupied? Verily, we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banquetting, surfeiting, and dronkenness; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, diceplaying, carding and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death: for Salomon byddeth us remember our end and last day, and then we shall neuer do amisse; but they remember it

Eccle. 7, 36
Job, 7, 6, 7, 9
Esay. 40, 6, 7
Psal. 30, 5
Ecclesi. 14, 18
1 Pet. 1, 24
James, 1, 10
Cap. 4, 14
Job, 14, 2
Psal. 102, 3, 11
Mat. 25, 4
Ephes. 5, 14
1 Cor. 6, 9, 10
Ephes. 5, 3
1 Timo. 9

2 Pet. 3, 4
Hebre 9, 27

not, therefore they do amisse. The brevitie of our life is compared in Scriptures vnto the smoke, vapour, grasse, a flower, shadow, a span long, to a weauer's web, to a post, &c., teaching hereby that we should be always preparing to die, for that we know not what hour it will come: therefore, as wise virgins, let vs prepare oyle ready in our lampes, for doubtlesse the day of the Lord is not farre off. Dare we take our rest, and boldly to sleape in these our wicked sinnes, in which if any man should die (as no man is sure that he shall liue the next morrow folowing) he were vtterly cast away, and condemned body and soule: but, alas! these things they remember not. In such wise, they flatter themselues with hope of longer lyfe (sith with the which so many men be deceived) how childish are they, or rather how do they dote, which do perswade themselues, that they be exempted out of the number of those, as it were by some singular priuiledge and prerogatiue.

These are the chieftest causes that we liue so wickedly as we doe in these dayes. Take away, therefore, the causes, the effectes wil easily be remedied. And, for the curing of three notable vices (among al the reste) I haue here made (according to my small skill) a Treatise against Diceplaying, Dauncing, and vayne Playes, or Enterluds, dialogue wise, betweene Age and Youth, wherein thou shall finde great profit and commoditie; and how, in al ages, times, and seasons, these wicked and detestable vices of ydlenesse, diceplaying, dauncing, and vaine enterludes, hath beene abhored and detested of al nations, and also among the heathens, to the great shame and condemnation of Christians, that vse no play nor pastime, nor any exercise, more than diceplaying, dauncing, and enterludes. Now, therefore (friendly reader) I haue laboured for thy sake, with my poore penne, to bring forth this small volume that thou seest: wherein I haue

to request and desire thy friendly acceptance of the same, because it is a pledge and token of my good hart and will to thee ; for which, if thou canst afourd me thy good worde, I aske no more, it shall not be the last (if God lend me life) that thou shalt receiue of me. As for *Aristarchus* broode, and *Zoilus* generation, lurking loy-terers, dicers, dauncers, enterlude players, and frantike findefaults, dispraysing and condemning euery good endeauour, I wey them not : I am not the first (though the simplest and rudest) that their venomous tongs (typped with the mettall of infamy and slander) haue torne in peices, and vncharitably abused. God forgiue them ! Accept thou, therefore, I beseech thee (curteous reader) this my travel and good meaning in the best part. Thus

I bid thee farewel. From

Henbury.

JOHN NORTHBROOKE.

Psal. 12, 2, 3,
4
Eza. 33, 30,
31, 32
Psal. 14, 6
Psal. 101, 5
Mat. 5, 11
Act. 7, 57
James, 3, 8
Psal. 119, 2, 3

AN ADMONITION TO
THE READER.

Reade this booke with good aduise ;
Perpend and wey with diligence,
The counsels graue herein containde,
Then iudge according to the sence :
And so you shal ful soone espie
The great good wil this authour beares
To countries wealth, to al mens ioy,
To profit youth, and old of yeares.
Wherefore do read, and read againe,
Then, put in practise what you finde ;
So shal you fullie recompence
In ech respect the authour's minde.
And as for scornful sycophants,
Or dauncers mates whatso they say,
He needes not care although they rage,
Let them go packe and trudge away.
These paines he toke for all good men,
For whom he made this little booke,
And for all such as mindeful are
For vertue's cause therein to looke.
Therefore, in fine, to God I pray,
That he wil graunt vs of his grace,
Our harts and mindes may ioyne for aye,
Stil to persist in vertue's trace.

A TREATISE AGAINST IDLENES, IDLE PASTIMES, AND PLAYES.

Youth.—Age.

God blesse you, and well ouertaken, good father *Age*.

Age. And you also, good sonne *Youth*.

Youth. From whence come you now, good father, if I may be so bolde (to presume of your curtisie) to demaunde of you?

Age. I came from thence, whereas you oughte to haue bene, and resort vnto.

Youth. What place is that? I pray you declare to me.

Age. In good sooth, it is that place, whiche you, and such others as you are, delite very little to come vnto.

Youth. I dare holde a ryall, you meane the church.

Age. You had wonne your wager if you had layde: it is euen the very same place that I meane.

Youth. That place is more fitte for such olde fatherly men as you are, than for such yong men as I am.

Age. The place is fit and open for euery man to come and resort vnto, of what estate, condition, or yeares Luc, 14, 21
22
soeuer he or they be of.

Youth. I graunt that to be true.

Age. Why, then, resort you not thither, as you ought to do, and frequent it oftener?

Youth. I haue great busines other wayes for my profit,

in other places, and, therefore, must doe that first; which is the cause of my slacke and seldome comming to the church.

Mat. 6, 33

Age. Christe biddeth you seeke first the kingdome of God, and his righteousnesse, and all those things (that you neede of for your bodie) shall be ministered vnto you.

Horatius in
Epist.

But I perceiue your care is according to the poetes saying : *O ciues, ciues! quærenda pecunia primum est, virtus post nummos.* That is: O citizens, citizens! firste seeke for mony, and after money for vertue. Take heede, therefore, least you be one of that crewe, which St. Augustine

August ad
fratres in E.
rem. sum. 33

exclaimeth againste, saying : *O! quam plures sunt ex vobis qui prius tabernam visitant, quam templum; prius corpus reficiunt, quam animam; prius Dæmonem sequuntur, quam Deum.* O, how many are there of you whiche

1 Cor. 11, 21

doe first visite the tauerne, then the temple; which doe first feede and refreshe their bodie, then their soule;

John 2, 15

which doe first follow and wayte after the deuill, then God, &c. Christe made a scourge of small cordes, and draue the buyers and sellers out of the temple; but nowe I see that the magistrates haue cause to make scourges with great cordes, to driue and compell idle persons, and buyers and sellers into the temple.

Luke, 14, 23

Mat. 18, 20

Youth. Cannot I finde Christe as well in a tauerne as in a temple? for he sayeth: Wheresoeuer two or thre be gathered together in his name, he is in the middes of them.

Age. Indeede, Christe is to be found in al places, and is amongst the godly and faithfull gathered together according to his will; for his church and faithfull congregation is not tyed and bounde to any one speciall place (as the Donatists and Papists affirme), but is dispersed vppon the face of the whole earth wheresoeuer. I pray you, howe can you say that you are gathered together in Christes name, when you doe all things to the disglorie

Psal. 50, 16

thereof in breaking of his blessed commaundementes, by your swearings, drunkennesse, ydlenesse, vyolating the sabboth daye, neglecting to heare his worde, and to receiue his sacraments, and to resort to the house of prayer with the godlie congregation. As God is neare to them that call vppon him in truth, so is he farre from the health of the vngodlie and wicked. Where did Joseph and Mary finde Christ, when as they sought after him? It was in no tauerne or playing house, but it was in the temple, disputing and apposing the doctors, &c. To that purpose Saint Augustine sayeth : *Quærendus est Christus, sed non in platea vbi est magna vanitas ; non in foro vbi est grandis aduersitas ; non in taberna, vbi est summa ebrietas ; non in secularia curia, vbi maxima falsitas ; non in scholis mundanorum philosophorum, vbi est infinita peruersitas.* — Christ is to bee sought for, but not in the streetes, where is much vanitie ; not in the iudgement place, where is great trouble ; not in the tauernes, where is continuall drunkennesse ; not in the worldlye courtes, where is great deceyte ; not in the schooles of worldlye philosophers, where is endlesse contention.

Psal. 145, 18
Psal. 119, 155

Luke, 2, 46

August. ad
fratres in
Erem. Serm.
43

Ambro. lib. 3,
de Virginib.

Youth. I perceiue that I haue ouershotte myselfe in saying and doing as I haue said and done ; yet, I pray you, giue me to vnderstande whye you are so desirous to haue hadde mee in the churche especiallye thys morning?

Age. Bicause I wishe your soules health.

Youth. Was there a phisition at churche this daye, that coulde minister any medicines?

Heb. 13, 17
1 Pet. 5, 2

Age. Yea, that there was, who hath ministered such medicines to our soules this day, that no tongue can expresse the benefitte we haue gotten and obtained thereby.

Youth. Was hee a phisition for the bodie or the soule?

Age. You may perceiue by my wordes, that it was a phisition for the soule onely.

Youth. So I thought ; for if hee had beene for the

bodie, our gentlemen and gentlewomen, with our rich farmours in oure parish, would haue beene there, although they had beene caried in wagons or coches.

Age. You haue sayde truth; and the more to bee lamented, bicause they feele not the disease in their fayntie and sicke soules, nor yet remember the wordes of Christe, that sayeth: The whole neede not a phisition, but they that are sicke. Therefore, hee calleth (by his preachers) all those that are wearye and laden to himselfe, and promiseth to them that come, that they shall finde rest vnto their soules. This phisicke is giuen to us freelye for nothing, withoute anye oure worthynesse, merites, or desertes. I would to God they didde feele their sicknesse, then they would aknowledge it, and make speede to seeke for the phisition whiles he may bee found, and labour for the life which shall neuer decaye nor perishe. I pray God the olde prouerbe be not found true, that gentlemen and riche men are venison in Heauen (that is), very rare and daintie to haue them come thither.

Youth. Do you meane all gentlemen and rich men in generall?

Age. No, God forbidde, for I know well, that there are a great number of godlie, zealous, and vertuous gentlemen, gentlewomen, and rich men, which doe hunger and thirste for the aduancement and continuall increasing of God's glorie and hys kingdome, to the vtter subuersion of all sinne, wickednesse, vyce, and poperie; and also doe hunger and thirste to be at home in their euerlasting habitation, prepared for the elect, through the death and resurrection of Jesu Christe, our only sauour.

Youth. I understande your meaning very well, how you will vrge and persuaue euery man to be a hearer of the sermons.

Age. You haue sayde the truth; this is my purpose

Math. 9, 12
Heb. 13, 7
Math. 11, 28

Rom. 3, 24
Esay. 55, 1
Reu. 22, 17
Esay. 55, 6

John, 6, 27

Math. 19, 23
Luc. 12, 21

Gal. 3, 28
Ac. 10, 34, 35

Phil. 1, 23
2 Cor. 5, 12
Reu. 22, 20
Rom. 4, 25

and whole desire, which, with all my heart, I wishe and pray for.

Youth. The church is no wylde cat: it will stande still, when as it is; and, as for sermons, they are not daintie, but very plentie, and, therefore, no such great neede or haste to runne to heare sermons.

Age. Although they are plentie (God continue it), yet you must not neglect to heare sermons in season and out of season, &c., for it is a speciall argument that Christe our sauour vseth to discerne his children from the children of Satan by, when he sayeth, He that is of God heareth God's worde: ye, therefore, heare them not, because you are not of God. Againe, My sheepe heare my voice, &c. Saint Gregory sayeth: *Certissimum signum est nostræ prædestinationis Dei verbum libenter audire*; that is: It is a most sure signe and token of our predestination, glad and willingly to heare the worde of God. Therefore, if you will be of God, and of his folde, heare his voyce pronounced to you by his preachers: thereby shall you profite your selfe, please God, and displease Satan: contrarywise, you shall displease God, and please Satan, to your owne confusion, which God forbid.

2 Tim. 4, 2

John, 8, 47
2 Joh. 4, 6
Ioh. 10, 27

Gregorius

Luke, 10, 16
Mat. 10, 40
John, 13, 20

Youth. I beseeche you, good father, declare to me plainelye, by some proofes of holy scripture, that Satan is displeased if wee heare the worde preached or read; and also that he is so well contented, when as we neither heare nor reade the worde of God, but continue in ignorance.

Age. That I will do, good sonne (God willing). You may very well perceyue his nature by that our sauour Christ saith: Ye do not vnderstande my talke, because ye cannot heare my word: ye are of your father, the deuill, and the lust of your father ye will doe, &c. Also in these wordes of Christ: When the vncleane spirite is gone out of a man, he walketh through drie places, seek-

Io. 8, 43, 44

Luc. 11, 24
Math. 12, 43

- ing rest, and when he findeth none, he saith, I will re-
turne into my house whence I came out; and when he
commeth, he findeth it swepte and garnished: then goeth
hee, and taketh to himselfe seuen other spirits worse than
himselfe, and they enter in and dwell there, so the last
1 Pet. 5, 8 ende of that man is worse than the first. Therefore,
Saint Peter sayth: Your aduersarie, the Deuill, goeth
about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may deuour,
2 Cor. 4, 3, 4 &c. Saint Paul sayth: If our gospell bee then hid, it is
hid to them that are loste, in whome the God of this
worlde hath blinded the mindes, that the light of the
glorious gospell of Christ should not shine, &c. Origen
sayth: *Demonibus est super omnia genera tormentarum,
et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant verbo dei ope-
ram studiis dare, scientiam diuinæ legis, et mysteria
scripturarum intentis perquirentem. In hoc eorum omnis
flamma est: in hoc vruntur incendio. Possident enim
omnes, qui versantur in ignorantia.* That is: Vnto
the deuils it is a torment aboue all kindes of tormentes,
and al paine aboue all paines, if they see any man read-
ing (or hearing) the worde of God, and with furuent
studie searching the knowledge of God's lawe, and the
mysteries and secretes of the Scriptures. Herein stand-
eth all the flame of the deuils; in this fire they are tor-
mented. For they are seased, and possessed of all them
that remaine in ignorance. This you haue heard, and may
easily perceyue, that this is hee (who by his ministers the
papists) shut vp the kingdome of heauen before men. This
is that serpent that beguileth us; that our mindes should
be corrupte from the simplicitie that is in Christ, he can
transforme himselfe into an angell of light. This is he
who soweth darnell among the Lord's wheate. This
that ennemie that cometh and taketh away the word of
God out of our hearts, least we should beleue, and so
be saued.

Origen in
memor homil.
27

Mat. 23, 12
2 Cor. 11, 3

Mat. 13, 3
Luc. 8, 12
Mar. 4, 1.

Youth. What meaneth this latter sentence that you recited? I pray you declare it to me.

Age. Christ hereby manifesteth what is the propertie and nature of Satan, how he can abide no man for to heare the word of God, and obey it, knowing wel that faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, and that they cannot heare but by the preaching, &c. : therefore he practiseth by all wayes and meanes to make vs deafe, that we may not heare the preaching, and so beleue, and be sau'd. Therefore, my sonne, marke this well, that when as you, or such others, doe little delight, or lesse regard to heare God's worde preached, that Satan doth possesse you and them, and is become your maister, and you his seruants and bondsmen, as Paule saith: Knowe ye not that to whomesoeuer you giue yourselues as seruants to obey, his seruants ye are to whome ye obey, whether it be of sinne vnto death, or of obedience vnto righteousnesse. Thus you see what an enimie Satan is to man's saluation, and his wages that he giueth is eternall death.

Rom. 10, 17

2 Tim. 2, 26

Rom. 6, 16

Ioh. 8, 34

1 Pet. 2, 19

Reue. 12, 10

Rom. 6, 23

Youth. Howe many wayes doth Satan go about to hinder vs from hearing the worde of God?

Age. He doth this by sundry meanes and wayes.

Youth. I pray you declare them to me as briefly as you may.

Age. I will so. First, he doth it by corruption of our natures, and also by reason we are accustomed continually to sinne. Secondly, by a vaine hope and trust in our selues and our freewill. Thirdly, by an epicurial and worldly care. Fourthly, by encouraging our selues to doe wickedly by the examples of other men that daily offende. Fiftlye, by pleasures, pastimes, and such like. Sixtly, by his owne craftinesse and subtiltie. Seuently, by rearing vp slanders vpon the preachers of the worde of God. Eightlye, by open persecution, &c. These are the wayes and practises that commonly he vseth.

Youth. I assure you, they are dangerous practises and easy meanes to drawe us from hearing the worde of God. Yet hitherto you haue not expressed to me, whether there be any daunger or punishment threatened against suche as will not heare God's worde?

Age. I was about so to doe, if you had not interrupted mee in my talke so soone.

Youth. I pray you, let me heare them, that by those threats I may learne to auoyde the daunger that may ensue vpon me in not hearing the sermons.

Dent. 28, 13
Dent. 28, 1
Levit. 26, 3

Age. As the curses are great against the contemners and negligent hearers of God's worde, so the blessings are double fold to the diligent and obedient hearer, according to that saying in logique: *Contraria inter se opposita, magis elucescunt*; that is, Contraries being set one against another, appeare more euident; so by the curses you may the better consider of the blessings.

Youth. Indcede I shall so; therefore, speak on, I beseeche you.

Dent. 28, 15,
16, 17, 18, 19,
20, 21, 22
Lamen. 2, 17
Leui. 26, 14
Baruc, 1, 20

Age. It is written in Deuteronomie, If thou wilt not obey the voice of the Lord thy God, all these curses shall come vpon thee and ouertake thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the towne and cursed in the field; cursed in thy basket and store; cursed shall be the fruit of thy bodie and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kyne and the flockes of thy sheepe; cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed when thou goest out. The Lord shall send vpon thee cursing, trouble, and shame, in all that whiche thou settest thine hand to doe, vntill thou be destroyed, and perishe quickelye. The Lord shall make the pestilence cleaue unto thee vntill hee hath consumed thee from the land. The Lorde shall smyte thee wyth a consumption, and with the feuer, and with a burning ague, and with feruent heate, and with the sworde, and with blasting, and with mieldew, &c., as in that chapter

you may reade throughly, wherein ye shall find most terrible plagues vpon those that are contemners and disobeyers of God, and his worde. In Samuel you may reade also, that Saule was reprobued for this fault, and lost his kingdome for it. Hath the Lord (saith Samuel) as greate pleasure in burnt offerings and sacrifices as when the voice of the Lorde is obeyed? Behold, to obey is better than sacrificies, and to harken is better than the fat of rammes: bicause thou hast cast away the worde of God, therefore, he hath cast away thee from being king. Salomon sayeth: Because I haue called, and you refused, I haue stretched out my hande, and none woulde regarde; but ye despised all my counsels, and wold none of my correction: I will laugh at your destruction, and mocke when feare commeth. Then shall they call vpon mee, but I will not answer; they shall seeke mee earely, but they shall not finde me: bicause they hated knowledge, and did not choose the feare of the Lorde, they would none of my counsell. Therefore, shall they eate the fruite of their owne way, and be filled with their owne deuices. Againe he sayth: He that turneth away his eare from hearing the law, euen his prayer shall be abhominable. Reade Ieremie, and see what plagues came vpon the people for their neglecting of God's worde. Ezechiell sayeth, that a booke was deliuered him (against those that contemned and woulde not heare the worde of the Lorde, and frame their liues answerable to it) which was written, within and without, lamentations, and mournings, and wo. They that were called to the supper, and refused to come, had pronounced against them, that none of them that were bidden shall taste of his supper. He sayeth also, that the kingdome of God shall be taken from you, and shall be giuen to a nation which shall bring fruites thereof. Also you may perceiue by Christes weeping ouer Jerusalem, when he profecied of their dis-

1 Sam, 15, 22

Ierem. 7, 23

Prov. 1, 24,
25, 26Prou. 28, 9
Iere. 44, 23Ezech. 2, 10
Cap. 33, 31
32, 33Luc. 14, 24
Mat. 21, 43

struction, for not comming to him when he called, and for
 Luc. 19, 41 killing his prophets who were sent to call, how wrathfull
 God's indignation is against all such, &c. Veye well
 Hebr. 12, 25 did Saint Paul saye: See that yee despise not him that
 speaketh; for if they escaped not whiche refused him that
 spake on earth, much more shall wee not escape, if wee
 turne away from him that speaketh from heauen, &c.
 Chrisost. ad Chrisostome sayeth: *Quanto namque major gracia, tanto*
 populum. An- *amplior postea peccantibus pœna.* The greter benefites
 tioch. Homil. we receiue (at God's handes), and doe abuse them, or not
 21 regard them, the greater punishment shall fall vpon them
 afterward.

Youth. These sayings out of the scriptures are terrible, and pearce my hart and conscience very deeply.

Age. You knowe that the worde of God is a two edged
 Heb. 4, 12 sworde, and entreth through (sayeth Saith Paule) euen
 to the diuiding asunder of the soule and the spirite, and
 of the ioyntes, and the marie; and is a discerner of the
 thoughts and ententes of the heart. Whereby you see
 that it woundeth mortally the rebellious, but in the electe
 it killeth the olde man, that they should liue vnto God.

Youth. These paines and curses are terrible, which
 maketh me to trimble for feare.

Age. *Si horrescimus pœnam, horescamus etiam causam*
 Lanatens in *pœnæ*: If we do abhorre and feare the punishment, let
 Paralip. ca. 2 vs also abhorre and feare the cause of punishment (which
 is sinne.)

Youth. I perceiue now that is a great sinne, and they
 are in a great danger, that contemptuously refuse to heare
 the word of God when it is preached.

Age. It is most true; for, as Augustine sayth: *Non*
 August. 1. *minor erit reus qui verbum negligenter audierit, quam*
 causa. 1 quest *ille qui corpus Christi indignè sumit.* That is, he is
 cap. interrog no lesse guiltie that negligently heareth the worde of
 1 Cor. 11, 29 God, than he that eateth vnworthly the body of Christ.

Saint Cyrill sayeth : If we doubt of them that heare the worde preached, what shall we do of them that doe neuer heare the word preached at all? Cyril in Leu. lib. 6

Youth. Wil not ignorance excuse vs?

Age. Nothing lesse; for it will rather accuse vs, as Augustine sayth : *Ignorantia in eis qui intelligere noluerunt, sine dubitatione peccatum est; in eis autem qui non potuerunt, pœna peccati: ergo in vtriusque non est iusta excusatio, sed iusta damnatio.* Ignorance in them that would not vnderstande, without doubt it is sinne; in them that could not vnderstande, it is the punishment of sinne; for in either of them there is no iust excusation, but iust damnation. Therefore was it called the mother (not of deuotion, as the papistes tearme it) but of all mischiefe and vice. But wee may saye of our aduersaries, the papistes, as Ireneus sayde against the Valentinian heretickes, *Veritatis ignorantiam, cognitionem vocant.* Ignorance of the truth, and blindnesse, they call knowledge. August. in Epist. 105

Youth. There are a number that perswade with themselves the cleane contrary, and thinke no offence lesse; nay, that is no offence at all to absent themselves from the sermons, and neuer scarce come to the temple at prayer, hauing no iust (but rather vniust) occasions to followe their owne pleasures in whatsoeuer, and yet boldly wil say and affirme (as I myselfe haue heard them) they are gospellers and Protestants, and doe beleue very well in God, and know as much as the preacher can, or is able to say, or teach them. Coue. Toleta 4 Can. 24

Age. Christ sayth, Not euery one that sayeth Lord, Lord, shall enter into his kingdome: not euery one that can say the Lord's prayer, the beliefe, and the ten commandements, is a good Protestant, but they that doe the will of our heauenly father. So the Iewes bragged that they had Abraham to their father, and that they were Iren. lib. 2. cap. 9

Mat. 7, 21

- Iohn, 8, 41 not borne of fornication, but that they hadde one father, which is God; yet Christ pronounceth that they are of their father the deuill, for his workes they did. And amongst all the workes Christ speaketh of this sinneful worke of Satan, which was their bragging that they were God's children, and yet would not heare God's worde.
- Psal. 50, 17 But to those shall be sayde: What are thou that takest my couenant in my mouth, and hatest to be reformed,
- Mat. 17, 5 and dost cast my words behind thee? Although these menne can saye well, yet (for that they shewen ot obedience to their heauenlye father, that sayeth, This is my onely begotten sonne, heare him) he will destroy them with the hypocrites, that professe they knowe God, but by workes they denye him, and are abhominable and disobedient, and vnto euery good worke reprobate (as Saint Paule saith.) Hillarie speaketh of these men, saying: *Multi sunt qui simulantes fidem, non subditi sunt fidei, sibique fidem ipsi potius constituent quam accipiunt.* That is: There are many that counterfayte fayth, and yet they are not subject or obedient to the true faith: these men do rather prescribe to themselues a fayth, than to receiue true faith and religion.

Youth. They say that they belieue wel, and haue the true faith, notwithstanding.

- Age.* Heare, I pray you, what Saint Cyprian sayeth to them, *Quomodo dicit se credere in Christum, qui non fecit quod Christus facere præcepit?* How can he say that he beleueth in Christe, that doth not that whiche Christe hath commaunded? Whereby you may see howe wide these people are from true religion. It was wel sayde of Saint Augustine, *Constat fidem stultam non solum minimè prodesse, sed etiam obesse.* It is certaine that a foolishe fayth not onely doth no good, but also hurteth.
- Ciprian de simplicitate prelatorum
- August in quest. ex vet. Testamenti quest, 43

Therefore (if you and they repent not) yee shall one day
 2 Thess. 1, 8 feele the iust rewarde thereof, when in your tormentes and

endlesse paynes yee shall bee forced wyth the wicked in hell, to crye and saye : We haue erred from the waye of truthe, and haue wearied ourselues in the waye of wickednesse and destruction ; and wee haue gone through daungerous wayes, but the way of the Lord we haue not knowne. What hath pryde done to vs ? or what profite hath the pompe of riches brought vs ?

Psal. 75, 8
Wisd. 5, 6

Youth. I praye you, what causes are there to moue and perswade us, that we oughte to heare and reade God's holye word ?

Age. There are foure principal causes.

Youth. What are they ?

Age. The first cause to moue us to heare and reade the word of God is the commandment of Almightye God, our heauenly father, which sayeth : Ye shall walke after the Lord your God, and feare him, and shal kepe his commandements, and hearken vnto his voice. Againe, The Lord thy God will raise vp a prophete like vnto me from among you, euen of thy brethren ; vnto him shalt thou hearken, &c. Thys is my well-beloued sonne, heare him, &c. He that heareth you, heareth me, and hee that despiseth you, despiseth mee, &c. The scribes and Pharisies sit in Moysees seate ; al, therefore, whatsoeuer they bid you obserue, that obserue and doe, &c. If you loue mee, keepe my commaundements, &c. Search the scriptures, for in them ye thinke to haue eternall life, of and they are they which testifie of me, &c.

Deut. 20, 4
Deut. 30, 2

Deut. 18, 15

Mat. 17, 5
Mat. 3, 17
Iake, 10, 16
Mat. 10, 40
Iohn, 13, 20
Mat. 23, 23
Iohn, 14, 15
Iohn, 5, 39
Act, 17, 11

The second cause is the end that we were created and redeemed for, that is, to learne to know God, to honour him, worship him, glorify him, to feare him, loue him, and obey him, as our God and father, as Chrisostome sayth : *Omnia condita esse propter hominem, hunc autem conditum esse propter Deum, hoc est ad agnoscendum et glorificandum Deum*, &c. Al things were ordayned to be made for man, man was ordayned to be

Malac, 1, 6

Chisost.

- Psal. 118, 17 made for God, to the end to knowe and glorifie God; &c.
 Psal. 86, 12 So Dauid said : I shall not dye, but liue, and declare
 1 Cor. 6, 20 the workes of the Lorde. So Paule sayeth : Glorifye
 2 Thess. 3, 12 the workes of the Lorde. So Paule sayeth : Glorifye
 1 Cor. 10, 30 God in your bodye and in your spirite, for they are God's.
 Againe : Whatsoever ye doe, doe all to the glorie of
 God.
- 2 Cor. 3, 5 The thirde cause is our owne infirmities, for that we
 are nothing, we know nothing, nor can perceiue any
 thing as of our owne selues, without the helpe of God's
 spirite, and the worde of his promise. Ireneus sayth :
Cum impossibile esset sine Deo discere Deum, per verbum
docet Deus homines scire Deum. When it was impossible
 to knowe God without God, God by his worde teacheth
 man to know God. So Dauid sayeth, that a yong man
 shall redresse his waye, by ruling himselfe according to
 God's worde. His worde is a lanterne to our feete, and a
 light to our paths, &c. The law of the Lord is perfect
 conuerting the soule, the testamonie of the Lord is sure
 and giveth wisdom vnto the simple, the commandments
 are pure and giue light vnto the eyes ; by them is thy ser-
 uant made circumspect, and in keeping of them there is
 great rewarde. Saint Paule sayeth : Whatsoever things
 are written afore time are written for our learning, that
 we through patience and comfort in the scriptures might
 haue hope. Againe : The whole scripture is giuen by
 inspiration of God ; and is profitable to teach, to improue,
 to correct, and to instructe in righteousness, that the men
 of God may be absolute, being made perfect vnto all good
 workes : That is, sayeth *Bruno*, it is profitable to teach
 them that are ignoraunt to reprove, and conuince them
 that speake against the faith, to correct sinners, to in-
 structe those that are rude and simple. Chrisostome
 also sayeth : *Quicquid quæritur ad salutem, totum jam*
impletum est in scripturis, qui ignarus est, inueniet ibi
quod discat, qui contumax est et peccator, inueniet futuri
- Ireneus
 Psal. 119, 9,
 105
 Psal. 19, 7
 Rom. 15, 4
 2 Tim. 3, 13
 2 Tim. 3, 16
 Bruno, in 2
 Chisost. in
 Math. 22,
 homil. 4, 1

iudicii flagella quæ timeat, qui laborat, inueniet ibi glorias et promissiones vitæ eternæ. Whatsoeuer is sought for, saluaion is wholelye containd and fulfilled in y^e Scriptures; he that is ignorant shall finde there what he ought to learne; he that is a stubborn and disobedient sinner, shall finde scourges of the iudgement to come, which shall make him feare; he that laboureth, and is oppressed, shall finde there promises and glory of eternal life.

The fourth and last cause is, the sharpe punishment that God pronounceth against suche as you haue heard declared before, when we talked of God's curses and plagues. Christ sayth himself, This is y^e condemnation, that light is come into the worlde, and men loued darkness rather than light, because theyr deedes were euill, &c. Thus, you haue hearde the causes why we ought to heare sermons preached by those that preach Christ truly, and to read the holy Scriptures. Deut. 28, 15,
16, 17, 18
Iohn, 3, 19

Youth. These causes are excellent, and of great importance, and of necessitie to be considered of al men.

Age. You saye truly; they are so, yet for your better instruction, I praye you answere me to these questions whiche I shall demand of you.

Youth. I wil, if I be able.

Age. Why doth God erect his throne amongst vs?

Youth. Because we should feare him.

Age. Why doth he reueale his will vnto vs?

Youth. Bycause we should obey him.

Age. Why doth he giue vs his light?

Youth. Bycause we should see to walke in his wayes.

Age. Why doth he deliuer vs out of troubles?

Youth. Bicause we should be witnesses that he is gracious.

Age. Why doth he giue vs his word?

Youth. Bicause we should heare, learne, and know him.

Age. Why doth he call vs by his preachers?

Youth. Bicause we should repent, and so come to him.

Age. Why doth he giue vs his sacraments?

Youth. Bicause they are seales of his promise, that we should not be forgetfull of the benefites purchased for vs by the precious body and blood of our sauour Jesus Christ.

Age. Why doth God giue vs vnderstanding?

Youth. Bycause we should acknowledge him.

Age. Why doth he giue vs a will?

Youth. Bycause we should love him.

Age. Why doth he giue vs bodies?

Youth. Bicause we should serue him.

Age. Why doth he giue vs eares?

Youth. Bicause we should heare him.

Age. You haue answered truly and directly, whereby I perceiue you haue read the scriptures, and haue some knowledge of God's wil; and therefore sith you know your master's wil, and doe it not, you shall be beaten with many stripes.

Youth. Is it sufficient to heare the worde of God preached, and so to be hearers onely?

Lnc. 12, 47
James, 1, 21,
22, 23, 24

Age. No. For as you ought to heare, so must you be a doer thereof. Saint James sayeth: Receyue with meeknesse the worde that is grafted in you, whiche is able to saue your soules; and be ye doers of the worde, and not hearers onely, deceiuing your owne selues. For if any heare the worde, and do it not, he is lyke vnto a manne that beholdeth his naturall face in a glasse; for when he hath considered himselfe, he goeth his waye, and forgetteth immediately what manner of one he was, &c.

Rom. 2, 13

Saint Paule also sayeth: The hearers of the law are not righteous before God, but the doers of the lawe. Wee are

Ephes. 2, 10

(saith hee) hys workmanshippe, created in Christ Iehu vnto good works, which God hath ordeyned that we should

Iohn, 25, 8

walke in them. Herein (sayeth Christ) is my father glorified that wee beare much fruitè: whosoever heareth of mee these wordes, and doeth the same, I will liken

him to a wise builder, &c. Christ ioyneth the hearing and doing together, with a true copulatiue saying, *Beati qui audiunt sermonem dei, et obseruant eum*: Blessed are they that heare the worde of God and kepe it. Therefore Christ biddeth our light (that is, our faith and religion) to shyne to the world, that the world may see our good workes, and glorifye our heauenly father, &c. Wherby we may see, that wee ought, and must needes haue, wyth hearing, doing; with faith, workes; wyth doctrine, lyfe; with knowledge, practise; with science, zeale; with professing, expressing; with hearing, keeping; with wordes, deedes; with talking, walking. So that these must needes dwell together in one house, as Mary and Martha, two sisters, which ought to bee, *tanquam commites indiuidui*: he that hath my commandements, sayth Christe, and keepeth them, is hee that loueth mee, &c. Saint Augustine vppon these wordes sayeth: *Qui habet in memoria, et seruat in vita; qui habet in sermonibus, et seruat in moribus; qui habet in audiendo, et seruat in faciendo; aut qui habet in faciendo, et seruat in perseuerando, ipse est qui diligit me*: He that hath my worde in his memorie, and keepeth it in life; hee that hath it in wordes, and keepeth it in manners; hee that hath it in hearing, and keepeth it in doing; or hee that hath it in doing, and keepeth it in perseuering and continuing, he it is that loueth mee. You see, then, that wee must not onely be hearers, but also doers of the worde. It shall not be asked (at the dreadfull day of iudgement) howe much we haue heard or readde, or how much we doe know, but how well we haue liued, what workes we haue expressed, to testifie with vs of our spiritual generation and inward faith, &c. S. Augustine sayeth: *Audire veritatem nihil est, si non auditionem fructus sequatur*: To heare y^e truth is nothing, vnless there followe fruits of our hearing. Therefore, we must be that good grounde

Luc. 11, 28
Math. 5, 16
1 Pet. 2, 12
James, 2, 28

Luc. 10, 59

Iohn, 14, 21

August. in
Iob, tract 75

Gene. 14, 33
Math. 25, 35
2 Cor. 5, 10
James, 2, 18

August. in
Psal. 66

Luke, 8, 8

Math. 13, 2
Mark, 4, 8
Titus, 1, 15

wherein the seede of God's worde is sowen, which bringeth fruite an hundred, sixtie, and thirtie folde. For we ought not to be like those that professe they knowe God, and denye him with theyr workes. That ground that bringeth forth such thornes and briers, is neare vnto cursing, whose end is to be burned; for euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruite, is hewen downe and cast into the fire.

Heb. 6, 8

Mat. 25, 40

Mat. 3, 10

Youth. I perceiue now, that the doctrine of the gospell is not a libertine doctrine, to giue a carnall libertie to men to do and liue as they liste, or that all workes, fasting, prayers, and almes deedes, obedience, &c., are ouerthrowen or denyed thereby, as the Pope's Catholikes haue and do report.

Rom. 3, 31

Age. By this doctrine of the gospell, as you heare, is established and confirmed all godly life and good workes; but this hath beene alwayes the practises of Satan and the impes, falselye to report of this doctrine, as we reade in the holy scriptures.

Youth. You haue satisfied me in this point (I thanke God for you); yet I pray you giue me to vnderstand what he was that preached this day at our church?

Aet. 9, 12
2 Cor. 10, 4
Rom. 3, 10

Age. I assure you I know not his name; but, whatsoever his name be, he is a godlye, learned man, one that beateth downe mightily by the word of God popish religion and superstition, and therewith he is a great enemy to sinne and vice, whiche now raigneth too, too much amongst al estates and degrees, and a great friend to vertue and true religion.

2 Cor. 1, 17,
18, 19
2 Tim. 3, 14
Exod. 28, 30

Youth. I am very glad to heare so good a report of him as I do: it is glorious when the preachers are certaine of their doctrine which they teache, constant therein, and lead liues answerable thereto, hauing that *Vrim* and *Thummim* which signifieth knowledge and holinesse, declaring thereby what virtues are required in those that

1 Tim. 4, 12

are ministers and preachers of God's worde and sacraments, so as they may builde vp God's church, both with doctrine and conuersation of lyfe.

2 Tim. 3, 10
1 Cor. 9, 27

Age. God defende but that they shoulde be such, as in all respectes they may shewe themselues to the worlde, an ensample in worde, in conuersation, in loue, in spirite, in faith, and in purenesse, and that they shewe themselues lanternes of light, and ensample of good works, with vncorrupt doctrine, with grauitie and integritie, &c.

Math. 5, 14
Titus, 2, 7

Youth. Your greate commendation of this sermon maketh me sorrowfull that I had not beene at it; but my businesse was suche, as by no meanes I could be there.

Age. Was your businesse so great, that it might not haue beene deferred and put off for that present vnto another time? I pray you, may I be so bolde as to vnderstande of you what this great businesse was, that thus hindered you from hearing so notable and worthie a sermon, as was preached this morning?

Youth. I may shewe you, for anye great weyght that it was of; but whatsoeuer it was, I put you out of doubt, it was about no matters of any common wealth.

Age. Then, belike, you were at prayer with all your familie, in your owne house.

Youth. I tell you truth: I prayed not, but I haue playde all this night, that this morning I could scarce holde open my eyes for sleepe, and therefore was fayne for to recouer my loste sleepe this forenoone.

Age. You haue herein abused God's ordinance, and yourselfe also; for God made the daye for man to trauell in, and the night for a man to rest in, &c.

Psa. 104, 10,
23
Psal. 74, 16
Psa. 136, 8,
9

Youth. Why, good father, is it not reason that a man should take his rest and sleepe when he pleaseth?

Age. Yes, in dede, so that he vseth his rest and sleepe moderately and orderly, that he may the better go about those lawfull affayres that he hath to doe. For other-

Pro. 20, 13 wise (as you vse your rest and sleepe) shall happen to you, as Salomon sayth: He that loueth sleepe shall come vnto pouertie, &c. Our life is a watching, therefore we ought to take heede, that we lose not the greatest part of our life with sleepe; namely, sith of the same many vices be engendered as well of the bodie as of the mynde. Cato to this effect sayth:

*Plus vigila semper, nec somno deditus esto,
Nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat.*

Arist. lib. 4
de animal
Youth. You know that sleepe was giuen for man's preservation, for that nothing hauing lyfe is there that sleepeth not. Aristotle sayeth, that all creatures hauing bloude take their repose and sleepe, &c. Sleepe is a surceasing of all the sences from trauel, which is, or is caused by certayne euaporations and fumes rysing of our meate and sustenance receyued, mounting from the stomacke immediately into the brayne, by whose great coldenesse these vapours warme are tempered, casting into a slumber euerye the forces, or sences exterior; at which time the vitall spirites, retiring to the heart, leaue all the members of the bodye in a sleepe, vntill suche time againe as these sayde vitall spirites recouer new force and strength to them againe; and so these vapors, or ceasing, or diminishing, man againe awaketh, and returneth to himselfe more apt to his businesse than at any time before: and therefore to sleepe, and take much rest is not so noysome, or hurtfull as you affirme.

Age. You haue herein shewed yourselfe lyke a philosopher and a phisition, but farre wyde either from good philosophie or wholesome phisicke. Although it be good and necessarie for the bodie, yet must it not be with excesse and immoderately taken; for that to much sleepe, saythe Aristotle, weakeneth the spirites of the body, as well as also of the soule: euen as moderate and competent

rest bettereth them, increasing their vigor and their force, euen so immoderate rest hurteth and weakeneth ; for as manye things are necessarie and needefull in man's lyfe, so taking in excesse and out of season annoy and grieue much : as to eate ; who feeleth not howe hunger compelleth, and yet he that eateth too much repenteth it, as wee commonly see. Sleepe, then, must be taken for necessitie onely, to reuiue, refreshe, and comforte the wearie senses, the spirites vitall, and other wearye members ; for too much sleepe (besides that it maketh heauie the spirites and sences, the partie also becommeth slouthfull, weake, and effeminate, with ouermuche ydlenesse) ingendreth much humiditie and rawe humors in the bodie, which commonly assaulte it with sundrie infirmities, messengers of death, and of finall ruine : for when we sleepe too muche, all the moystures and humors of the bodie, with the naturall heate, retire to the extreme parts thereof, no where purging or euacuating whatsoeuer is redundant. So then, vnmeasurable sleepe is not onely forbidden by philosophers and phisitions, but also is a thing odious to the wise. Ouid, with other poetes, terme sleepe an image, or pourtraite of death, saying,

What else, thou foole, is sluggish sleepe,	Ouid
but forme of frozen death ?	
By settled houres of certaine rest,	
approch thy want of breath.	

Therefore be you (and all suche as you are) ashamed, then, that spende the greater parte of your time in ydlenesse, and sleepe in your beddes vntill you be readye to goe to your dynner, neglecting thereby all dutye of seruice both towards God and man. These are the men that one speaketh of, saying : *Diu domiunt de mane, et sero cito cubant de nocte* ; They will go verye late to bedde at night, and sleepe long in the morning. Surely he

Holcot. in lib.
Sap. cap. 4

that so doth, his offence is nothing lesse than his that all daye doth sitte in fatte dishes, surfetting lyke a grosse and swollen Epicure, considering these creatures should onely be taken to the sustentation and maintenance of life, and not to fill or pamper voluptuouslye the bellye. Dionysius sayeth: *Non viuas vt edas, sed edas vt vivere posses; ad sanitatem, non ad incontinentiam habenda est ratio.* Thou lyuest not to eate, butte eate as thou mayest lyue; for there must be a gouernement to vse it for thy health, and not to incontinencie. Chrysostome sayth: *Non vita est propter cibum et potum, sed propter vitam cibus et potus.* The life is not appoynted for meate and drinke, but meate and drinke is appoynted for the life. In which sort we must take our sleepe onely for necessitie, and nothing for ydle pleasure, and that in due time, and not out of season, that we may the better serue God and our neyghbours. If that yong man Eutichus, for sleeping at Paules sermon at Troas in a windowe, fell downe (as a punishment of God) from the third lofte deade, what punishment, then, thinke you, will God bring vpon you, and other like, that sleepe from the sermon, and neuer come to diuine seruice, but sleepe out sermon and all, which cometh to pass by your night watchings and ydle pastimes? therefore, no excuse will serue you herein.

Youth. Why, good father, is not this a lawful excuse for me to be absent from the temple at prayer and preaching?

Age. It is no more lawfull excuse for you, than it was for them that were called to the supper, which seemed to make lawfuller and more honest excuses than you do, when as one would go to his ferme, another to proue his oxen, and another to abide with his new married wife, &c. All which things of themselues, and by themselues, are good and lawfull; but when these things are occasions

Dionys. in
Rom. cap. 13

Chrysost. in
Gent. cap. 6,
homil. 23

Act 20-9

Luc. 14, 19

Mat. 10, 37
Luc. 14, 26
Eccl. 39, 26

to hinder vs, and drawe vs back from our obedience to oure God, in his worde, then are they turned into sinnes, as Solomon sayth: He that turneth away his eare from hearing the lawe, euen his prayer shall be abhominable. The reason is bicause it is not of faith, which fayth is grounded vpon God's worde; for whatsoeuer is not of faith is sinne, for where a true fayth is, there is alwayes obedience to God's worde; for faith hath hir certaintie of the worde of God, and true obedience waiteth vpon fayth continually, as one of hir handmaydes.

Ecel. 39, 27
Proue. 28, 9

Rom. 10, 17
Rom. 14, 23

Psal. 122, 2

Therefore, if lawfull things (of themselues), as oxen, fermes, wyues, children, setting our householde in order, burying of our fathers, praiers, sacrifices, good intents and meanings, our own liues, &c., are not to be preferred before God's calling, or can be any excuse to vs at all, howe much less shall our vayne and ydle playes and wanton pastimes be an excuse vnto vs at the dreadfull day of iudgement, though they can say (as Salomon reporteth of them) Come, let vs enioy the pleasures that are present, let vs chearefully vse the creatures as in youth, let vs fill our selues with wine and oyntments, and let not the floure of life passe by us: let vs be partakers of our wantonnesse, let vs leaue some token of our pleasure in every place, for that is our portion and our lot; yet in the ende they shall be forced to say in bitternesse of heart (if they repent not), we haue wearied our selues in the way of wickednesse and destruction, but the way of the Lord we haue not known: what hath pride and pleasures of our youth profited vs, &c. Horrible is the ende, sayeth Salomon, of the wicked generation, &c.

Luc. 14, 16
Mat. 10, 37
Ierem. 7, 23

Mat. 8, 21
1 Sam. 15, 22
2 Cr. 26, 17
1 Cro. 13, 10

Wis. 2, 6
Isa. 22, 13
1 Cor. 15, 32

Wisd. 5, 7

Wisd. 2, 19

Youth. All this I must needes confesse to be true that you haue said; yet, as Salomon sayth, there is a time for all things—a time to play, a time to worke, a time to builde, a tyme to pull downe, &c.

Eccle. 3, 1, 2,
3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Age. If you confesse my saying to be true, and yet

- Luc. 12, 47
 James, 4, 17
- doe contrarie, you shall be beaten with many stripes; for, as Saint James sayth, To him that knoweth how to doe well, and doth it not, to him it is sinne. This he spake to such as sayde in hys time, as you doe now, that confessed what was good, but they would not doe it. And
- 1 John, 2, 17
 Marc. 13, 31
 2 Pet. 3, 11,
 12
 1 Cor. 7, 31
 Esay. 40, 8
 Luc. 12, 18
 Genes. 6, 13
- as for this place of Ecclesiastes, or Preacher, by you alleaged to maintaine your ydle sportes and vayne pastimes, it is not well applied by you, for he speaketh of this diversitie of time for two causes. First, to declare that there is nothing in this worlde perpetuall, *Omne creatum finitum est*; all things created be finite, that is, it hath and shall haue an ende. So Seneca sayth:
- Senec. lib. 1
- Iam. 5, 7
- Nihil est diuturnum, in quo est aliquid extremum.* Secondly, to teach vs to be patient, and not griued, if we haue not all things at once according to our desires, neyther enioy them so long as we would wish, and not therby to maintaine ydlenesse and vayne pastimes. So may the drunkerde, adulterer, vsurer, thiefe, &c. (with the whole rabble of wicked and vngodly ones) likewise, and to the same effect and purpose, alledge this place, and applye it for their practises, as you doe for yours. But Syrach teacheth you another lesson, saying: God hath commaunded no man to doe vngodly, neyther doth he giue any man licence and time to sinne, &c. This doth well appeare by the wordes of Saint
- Eccl. 15, 20
- Gal. 6, 10
- Ambros. in
 Gal. cap. 6
- Luc. 1, 75
- Paule, saying, Whyle we haue time, let vs doe good, &c. Saint Ambrose vpon these wordes sayth, *Tempus enim idcirco conceditur vitæ, vt iam iuste versemur*; that is, tyme is therefore granted vnto our lyfe, that wee shoulde lyue rightly and iustly all the dayes of our life. The godlye man hath alwayes sayde, *Veritas filia temporis est, et mater omnium virtutum*; that is, truth is the daughter of time, and the mother [of] all vertues: and that no time nor houre ought to be spent ydelly appeareth by that Christe himselfe sayde: The kingdome

of heauen is lyke vnto a certayne housholder that went to hire labourers into his vineyarde: hee went the third, the sixth, the ninth, and the eleuenth houre, founde some standing ydle, and sayde to them, why stande ye here all daye ydle? Goe ye also into my vineyarde, &c. Whereby it appeareth that wee ought to waste and spende no time, nay, no houre, in ydlenesse, but in some good exercise, &c., as it maye onelye redounde to the glorie of the immortall name of God, and profite of our neyghbours. Verye well was it sayde of one, vppon these wordes that Christe sayde to them that stode ydle all daye, &c. *Tota die, id est tota vita, in pueritia, adolescentia, in iuventute, in senectute, vobis nihil proficientes, proximis non subuenientes, Deo non seruientes, hostibus non resistentes et in posterum non providentes.* All the day, that is all the life (to be ydle) in thy childehoode, in thy boyhoode, in thy youthe, in thy age, nothing profitable to themselves, helpfull to their neyghbours, not seruiceable to God, not resisting their ennimies, and lesse prouiding againste the last daye. This made Seneca complayne that a great part of our lyfe perisheth in doing nothing, a greater in doing euill, and the greatest of all in doing things vnprofitable. Chrysostome sayeth, that we must be doing: *Corde, mente, ore, manu; corde credendo, mente compatiendo, ore confitendo, manu operando.* With heart, minde, mouth, and hande; with heart in beleeuing, with minde in patience, with mouth in confessing, with hande in labouring. So that you may well perceue that to be ydle and doe no good is against the law of God and the law of nature; as Hesiodus sayth, *Illi pariter indignantur, et dii et homines, quisquis otiosus*: both the Gods and men detest those that are idle; and therefore was it said openly, *Otiosos et vagos solitus est appellare fratres muscas, quod nihil facientes boni*; Idlers and wanderers were wont to be called friers' flees, that are doing no good.

Math. 20, 3,
4, 5
Luc. 19, 22
Mat. 25, 26

Nic. Gorran
in Math. cap.
20

Centuria. 13
cap. 10, and
in folio 1152

Youth. Wil you haue no leysure times graunted vnto man? is it not a true saying, *Quies laboris remedium*—rest is the medicine of labors and wearines? Therefore breathings and refreshings from continuall labors must be had, bicause it driueth away irkesomnesse, gotten by serious toile, and doth repaire again y^e bodies and minds to labor; euen as too much bending breketh a bow, so to be addicted perpetually to labors, and neuer to refresh the mind with pastimes, must nedes cause y^e minde not long to endure in earnest studies; and therefore, it is said, festiual dais in old time were inuented for recreation.

Age. Yes, truly, I do allow of honest, moderate, and good lawfull actiue exercises for recreation, and quickning of our dull minds. And where you say that holydayes (as they are termed) were inuented in old time for pastimes, I think you say truth. For y^e Pope appointed them (and not God in his word), and that only to traine vp the people in ignorance and ydlenesse, whereby halfe of the year, and more, was ouerpassed (by their ydle holydayes) in loytering and vaine pastimes, &c., in restrayning men from their handy labors and occupations. S. August. speaking of the abuse of the Sabboth-day, sayth: It is better to digge and go to plowe on the Sabbath-day, than to be drunke and liue ydelly: howe much more may we saye so of these festiual days, neuer appointed nor commanded by God, &c.

August. in
Psal. 32

Youth. If you do alow of exercises and recreations, why then, do you so bitterly inuey and speak against plays and pastimes?

Age. As far as good exercises and honest pastimes and plays doe benefite the health of manne, and recreate his wittes, so far I speake not against it; but the excessive and vnmeasurable vse thereof taketh away the right institution thereof, and bringeth abuse and misuse, and thereby is an hinderaunce of man's obedience to God's

Math. 5, 29

word (as it is seene in you, this present day), and therefore they are rather chaunged into faultes and transgressions than honest exercises for man's recreation. Therefore, we must in all our pastimes remember what Cicero sayth : *Non ita generati sumus a natura, vt ad ludum et jocum facti esse videamur, sed severitatem potius, et alia studia grauiora.* Wee are not made and brought forth into this worlde by nature, to the intent we might appeare and seeme to be created to the maintenaunce of gaming and pastymes, but we are borne to more weightie matters and grauer studies. Therefore, S. Paule sayth : 1 Cor. 10, 31 Whatsoeuer ye do, do all to the glorie of God.

Cic. de Offic.
lib. 1.

Youth. It seemeth to me, you are so precise, as if you would make vs Stoikes, that will thus exclude pastimes and playes from vs, as we now vse them.

Age. Haue you so quicklly forgotten (what I sayde euen now) that I did allowe of all honest, good, and lawfull pastimes, for those endes and purposes wherevnto they were appointed, for man's recreation and comfort. Cicero sayth in his booke of Offices to this effect and purpose : *Ludo autem et joco illis quidem vii licet, sed sicut somno et cæteris quietibus, tum cum grauibz seriisque rebus satisfecerimus :* that is, honest games and pastimes are allowable, but we ought to vse them as we doe sleepe and other eases of the body, and to be taken after such time, as we haue laboured inough in weightie matters and serious affaires. As we read of the Romane Sceuola : he vsed oftentimes to play at tennis, onely to recreate his spirites, after he had taken great paynes in weightie matters of the common wealth.

Cic. de offic.
lib. i

Valer. lib. 8

Youth. I am verye gladde that you graunt some kynde of pastime and playes, although you tye it to times, matters, and persons.

Age. Very good reason it be so graunted, as I haue sayde : for, as Cicero sayth : *Ludendi est quidem modus*

retinendus, a measure ought to be kept in all our pastimes ; as the poet sayth : *Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, Quas ultra citraque nequit consistere virtus.*

Mar. 13, 33

I pray you what measure, or meane, keepe you and your companions now a days, that play when you should sleepe, and sleepe when you shoulde labour ? The Lorde biddeth you watch and pray, and you watch and play all night long ; whereby you are not able to doe your dutie in hearing of God's worde, receyuing of his sacramentes, praying with the congregation, yet not able to vse your vocation and calling ; whereby you prouoke and heape God's heauy displeasure and wrath vppon you : therefore, ye haue greate cause to bee heartily sorye, and to repent.

Youth. Why, sir, by my sleepe I hurt no man, for therein I thought no euill ; and therefore I haue not offended, that I nede to repent me for it.

Iam. 3, 2
Mat. 15, 19
1 Cor. 3, 5
Genes. 6, 5
Psal. 19, 12
Psal. 52, 7

Age. My sonne, in manye things we offende all, both in thoughts, words, dedes, and dreames, through corruption of our nature ; therefore haue wee nede to saye with Dauid, Who can vnderstande his faultes ? Clense mee from secret faultes, O Lorde. And whereas you say by sleeping you hurt no man, that is not sufficient to hurt no man, but you must do good also. Dauid sayth : Eschue euill and doe good ; seeke peace, and ensue it. What good (I pray you) hath your sleepe and ydle pastimes done to you, which hath hindered you from all good and godly exercises ? No good at all, but rather great hurte, for that you abused, and not vsed, your sleepe in due time and order, by reason of your ydle night-watching playes, and ydle wanton pastimes, to satisfie the pleasures and desires of the fleshe, and therefore you neede repentance. Hereby is inferred that general rule, *Cuius rei est vsus, eiusdem est et abusus* : there is nothing vsed but that also maye be abused ; for God in mercie giueth vs nothing (be it neuer so good) but

Psal. 34, 14
Psal. 37, 27
and Pet. 3, 11

Rom. 8, 5, 6,
7, 8, 13
Gal. 5, 19

Genes. 3, 6
Wis. 2, 25

the deuill is presently busie to draw vs to the abuse thereof.

Youth. Do not you remember that Salomon sayth, that there is nothing better than that a man shoulde be merie and reioyce in his affayres, bicause that is his portion? Wherefore, then, shall not wee in our youthfull dayes playe and pastime? Ecc. 3, 22

Age. Salomon speaketh not there of vaine, wanton, and ydle playes, but declareth that man by his reason can comprehend nothing better in this life, than to vse the giftes of God soberly and comfortably. Also he speaketh against the greedie carefulnesse of the couetous rich men, that vse to become slaues and bondmen to their mucke and riches, (contrarie to the rule of Dauid, which he giueth, saying, If riches encrease, set not your heartes thereon). A little before the place by you recited, he sayth: I knowe that there is nothing good in them but to reioyce and do good in his lyfe. To that ende was it spoken of the wyse man against couetousnesse: *Avaro semper deest quod habet, quàm quod non habet.* The rich man lacketh that which he hath, as well as that he hath not. Augustine sayth: *Non solum ille auarus est qui rapit aliena, sed etiam ille auarus est qui cupide seruat sua.* Psal. 61, 10
Ecc. 3, 12
August. He is not onely a couetous man, that taketh away another man's goods, but also he is a couetous man that greedily and niggardlye keepeth his owne goodes, (from helping the poore); so that it is a manifest token of God's plague, when a riche man hath not a liberall hearte to vse his riches. Augustine sayth: *Si ignem mittitur qui non dedit rem propriam, ubi putas mittendus est qui inuasit alienum?* August. de
verb. Apost.
Serm. 20 If he shall be cast and sent into fire, that giueth not of his owne proper goodes, where thinkest thou shall he be cast and sent, that inuadeth and taketh away other mens?

Youth. Why doe you speake so much to mee of this

couetousnesse? I am not rich, and, therefore, not couetous.

Exo. 20, 17
Rom. 7, 7

Age. You are herein deceyued, for Christ in his law saith, thou shalt not couet nor lust; whereby he doth declare, that a greedy minded man (although he haue no riches) may be, and is a couetous man: so that riches (whiche is the gifte of God) is not cause of couetousnesse, but the filthye desire and insatiable mynde and heart of manne, and also his greedy desire to haue. Therefore

Psal. 7, 5, 6
1 Sam. 2, 7

1 Tim. 6, 10

Paule sayth: The desire of mony, he sayth, not simply (mony) but the (desire) is the roote of all euill, whiche, whyle some lusted after, (he sayeth lusted) they erred from the faith. Againe: They that will be riche, fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolishe and noysome lustes, which drowne men in perdition and destruction. So that we see it is the lust and will, and not the riches *per se* that doth make vs couetous men. Au-

August. in
Serm. 29
Theophil. in
Luc. cap. 7
Chrisost. in
Epist. ad
Phil. cap. 1

gustine sayeth: *Tolle superbiam, et diuitiæ non nocbunt*: take away pride and vaine glorie, and then riches will not hurt. *Non enim* (sayth Theophilact) *diuitiæ nocent, sed sollicitudines earum*: riches hurt not, but the carefulnessse of them. Chrisostome also sayth: *Non est pauper, non est, inquam, qui nihil habet, sed qui multa concupiscit: vicissim, non est diues qui multa possidet, sed qui nullius eget, &c. Voluntas hominum et diuites faciunt et pauperes, non pecuniarum, vel abundantia, vel defectus*; that is to saye, he is not a poore man, I saye, that hath nothing, but hee is a poore man that coueteth and lusteth: agayne, he is not rich that hath, and enioyeth muche (goodes) but hee that coueteth no other mannes (goodes) &c. The willes and desires of menne maketh riche and poore, not the want or abundance of monye. Seneca sayeth: *Diues est, non qui magis habet, sed qui minus cupit*. He is riche, not that hath much, but that coueteth least. Therefore, Saint Paule sayth: Godly-

Seneca

1 Tim. 6, 6

nesse is great gaine, if a man be content with that he hath, &c. Whereby you see proued, that you and such others are couetous men.

Youth. Well, let this passe, and let vs come agayne vnto our former talke. Is it lawfull for Christians to playe at all, or not?

Age. I haue sayde to you my minde herein alredy; what neede you to vrge me so often to tell you?

Youth. I will shewe you the reason why I doe aske you againe.

Age. What reason is there that so moueth you to reiterate this so often? Declare it.

Youth. I haue often times hearde it affirmed at the mouth of certain graue learned diuines, that it is not lawfull for any Christian man (professing the fayth and true religion of Christe Iesu) to playe at any game or pastime at all.

Age. Although in this poynt I am notaltogether of their iudgement, yet, no doubt, they seeme to giue reasons for it; but yet I must needes confesse, these reasons of theirs are sifted very depe and very harde, and marueylous precise.

Youth. I pray you let me heare what their reasons are, that they seeme to persuade by.

Age. Their reasons are these. Seing (say they) that we must yelde account to God of the whole course of our life, and of eche particular dede thereof, they aske what account we are able to yelde to God of the time that we leese in play. And seeing (say they) that we must forbear euey ydle worde that God rebuketh vs for, yea, Math. 12, 36 though it be neither othe nor blaspheming of the name of God, but onelye bicause it is ydle, and spoken to no purpose, howe then (say they) can we excuse ourselues 1 Cor. 19, 32 of all the ydle time that we spende in playing? We must doe all (say they) that we doe, be we great or small,

Ephe. 5, 16

Pet. 4, 3

Math. 25, 35,
36Amb. lib. 1,
offic. cap. 23

riche or poore, to the glorye of God ; and when we playe can we saye that therein we glorifye God ? Paule, (say they) willeth vs to redeme the time which we haue lost in fonde and euill things when we were idolaters ; shall we thinke that it is lawfull for vs to leese and spende the same in playe, now when we are called to the glorie of God ? It is sufficient for vs (sayeth Saint Peter) that we haue spent the time past of this lyfe after the lust of the Gentiles, walking in wantonnesse, lustes, drunkennesse, in gluttonie, drinking, and in abhominable idolatries, to the ende that the rest of the time that we shall liue in this fleshe, we should liue no more after the concupiscences of men, but after the will of God. There are so many duties (say they) that God by his worde requireth of vs, so manye meanes and holy exercises and occupations to bestow ourselues, eyther to the glorie of God, or the profit of our neighbours at all houres, both daye and night, yea, though they were longer, and that euery daye had eight and fortie houres : but, instede of bestowing ourselues in holye exercises and better businesses, wee spende away our time in playing, therefore, it is intollerable, and by no meanes lawfull, for any man that calleth himselfe a Christian to play. There is the reading of the worde of God, and other good bookes, there is comforting the sicke, visiting prisoners, relieuing the nedy, and also the occupations that ech man hath in his estate and particular calling ; all the whiche, with other lyke exercises, are expresslye commaunded vs by the worde of God, and we can scarce finde in our heartes to doe anye of them, and yet can we bestowe (say they) so long time in playing. Certainly, all these things well considered, we cannot perceyue (say they) howe it shoulde be seemely or lawfull for a Christian to lose any time, be it neuer so little, in play. Saint Ambrose (say they)

doth generally condemne all kinde of playe, as also Saint Chrysostome.

Etiam in
Psal. 1, 18
Chrisost. in
Mat. hom. 6

Youth. I promise you, they go very neare.

Age. Although they do, yet, for my parte, I will not bee so straitte or scrupulous. For I say with Saint Augustine, that it is the part of a wise man sometimes to recreate himselfe and reioyce the minde, that he may the better away with, longer continue, and more chearefully returne to his ordinarie labour and vocation. S. Ambrose sayth: *Licet interdum honesta ioca, &c.*; honest pastimes are sometime lawfull.

August. lib. 2
Musicæ

Ambr. lib. 1
offic. cap. 33

Youth. I woulde very gladly heare your answeres to their reasons which they haue made.

Age. My answer is this. We must make distinction betweene the ordinarie things that a Christian is bounde of necessitie to doe, and those things which are permitted and graunted him by God for the refreshing and helping of his infirmitie, as to ease him when he is weary to sleepe after labour, and to play after long paine. Ouid sayth: *Quid caret alterna requie durabile non est.* The thing cannot endure that lacketh rest. And, therefore, the holy scriptures (which are the rule of good and euill) maketh mention of playing, and alloweth Christians so to doe. Zacharie sayth: And the streetes of the citie shall be full of boyes and girles playing in the streetes thereof. Also, when Saint Paule sayth: Whether ye eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer ye doe, doe all to the glorie of God. Wee maye by this worde "whatsoeuer ye doe" vnderstande all honest recreations, which certainly is as lawfull, and permitted to vs, by reason of our infirmitie, as is either eating, drinking, or sleeping, when we haue neede thereof. And, as our Lorde Iesus Christ sayeth, that man is made for the glorie of God, and, therefore, the Sabboth serueth for man, and not man for the Sabboth. So honest recreation is inuented for man, and for

1 Cor. 10, 31

Marc. 2, 27
Luc. 6, 5
Math. 12, 8

Gala. 12, 13

his health, which maketh vs the better, and more deuout to serue God. Then, to playe at honest games and pastimes is a thing both indifferent and lawfull, and such as are lefte to Christian libertie: as Paule sayth, Brethren, ye haue bene called vnto libertie; onelye vse not your libertie as occasion vnto the fleshe, but by loue serue one another, which thing must be obserued in any wise. Neuerthelesse, I confesse, we ought not to abuse (through too great pleasure which we take in them) no more than to abuse any other thing of the lyke kinde. In very deede, it should seeme too great a crueltie to restraine wearied nature's ouertoyled bodies, that they neither might or durste take some recreation; for, although we ought to apply al and euery our doings to y^e glory of God, and edifying and helping of our neighbours, neuerthelesse, when we take our honest recreation to maintaine and preserue our vigour and health, or to recouer our strength, or to refreshe vp our spirites, that we may afterwarde the more cherefully and freshly go about that businesse that God hath called vs vnto, and doe it the better, the same in the ende redoundeth to the glorie of God, whome we shall by this meanes be more able and readye to serue, and also to seeke our neighbours furtherance and profite. I doe not, then, forbid or condemne all playe, neither mislike that a faithfull Christian doe sometimes play and sport himselfe, so that such play and pastime be in lawfull and honest things, and also done with moderation.

Youth. Then, I perceiue by you that honest recreations, pastimes, and playes are tollerable vnto menne, and that they maye vse and frequent it without fault, or offending God, or hurt to the profession of a true, faithfull Christian.

Age. If it be, as I haue sayd, moderately taken, after some weightie businesse, to make one more freshe and

agilite, to prosecute his good and godly affaires, and lawfull businesse, I saye to you againe, he maye lawfullye doe it; yet I would demaunde one thing of thee, my sonne, if thou wilt aunswere me.

Youth. That I will. What is it? Let me heare.

Age. What weightie affaires and graue studies haue you and your companions bene burthened withall? Hath it bene studying in your bookes, eyther in giuing counsell and advise for gouernement of common wealths, or else in labouring and toying in your handie craftes and vocation, for the sustentation and maintenance of your wiues and familie at home, that you should haue such neede to consume this whole night for recreation, pastime, and vaine playes?

Youth. I assure you, good father Age, my studie is not diuinitie, for I haue small learning, nor yet am I anye magistrate or labouring manne, for in no wise can I labour; I loue not to heare of it of anye thing, muche lesse to vse it.

Luc. 16, 3
Prou. 20, 4
Cap. 21, 25
Cap. 22, 13

Age. Your father hath the more to aunswere for, who is commanded by God's holy worde to haue brought you vp (as S. Paule sayth) in the discipline and doctrine of the Lorde. S. Paule commendeth Timothie, that he had knowne the Scriptures of a childe, and commendeth him that he hadde learned the faith that was in him of his grandmother Lois and his mother Ennice; whereby appeareth their diligence in bringing vp Timothie in godly knowledge, learning, and faithfulness in religion. Solon, the lawemaker among the Athenians, made a lawe that the childe (whose father neuer regarded to bring vppe his sonne in anye good learning or exercyse) shoulde not be bounde to succour or relieue his father in anye respect, in what neede soeuer he were in. Aristotle was demanded what the learned differed from the vnlearned, answered, *qua viui à mortuis*: as liuing men do differ

Deut. 6, 7
Ephes. 6, 7
Eccles. 7, 6
2 Tim. 3, 15

2 Tim. 1, 5

Plutarch

Aristotle

- Diogenes from the deade. Therefore Diogenes said well : Learning and good letters to yong men bringeth sobrietie, to olde menne comfort, to poore menne riches, to rich men an ornament, &c. Not without iust cause did Chrisostome saye, fathers are louing to the bodies of their children, but negligent and hateful to their soules ; which
- Ec. 30, 9, 10 is the cause that Ecclesiasticus sayeth : If thou bring vp thy sonne delicately he shall make thee afayrd ; if thou play with him he shall bring thee to heauinesse : laugh not with him, least thou be sorie with him, &c. And where you say you cannot labor, I tell you plainelye, then are you not worthy to eate or drinke ; for he (sayeth Saint Paule) that will not labour ought not to eate ; that is to say, sayth a learned man, *Nolite istos otiosos alere,*
- 2 Thes. 3, 10
Ephe. 4, 28 *sed fame eos ad laborem cogite :* nourish not among you these ydle, loytering persons, but compell them with very hunger to labour. Whereby you may learn y^t none ought to liue ydelly, but should be giuen to some vocation or calling to get his liuing withall, that he maye doe good vnto others also. Thomas de Aquine sayeth : *Qui non habet exercitium vel officii, vel studii, vel lectionis, periculose vivunt otiosi :* They that haue no exercise eyther of office, studie, or reading, these liue daungerously that
- Math. Flacc.
Illyricus in
2 Thes. cap. 3
Ephe. 4, 28
Thom. de
Aquino in
2 Thes. cap. 3
Eccl. 33, 26
Cato
Genes. 3, 15
Genes. 3, 19
Psal. 128, 2
Prou. 10, 13
- liue ydellye. Ecclesiasticus therefore saith : Sende thy seruant to labour that he go not ydle, for ydlenesse bringeth much euill. Cato sayth : *Homines nihil agendo discunt malem agere :* men in doing nothing but be ydle do learne to doe euill. Adam was put (by God) in paradise ; it is added, that he might dresse it and keepe it, teaching vs that God would not haue man ydle, though as yet there was no neede to labour. Also God sayde vnto Adam (after his fall) In the sweate of thy face thou shalte eate breade. David sayth : Thou shalte eate the labours of thine owne handes. Salomon sayeth : A slouthfull hande maketh poore, but the hande of the diligent maketh riche. You,

and such as you are, esteeme your selues happie and blessed which may liue in wealth and ydlenesse ; but the Holy Ghost (as you haue heard) approueth them blessed y^t liue of the meane profit of their owne labours. So that it appeareth, of all things ydlenesse is most to be eschewed and auoyded of all men (especially of those that professe the gospel of Christ) bicause it is the fountayne and well spring whereout is drawne a thousande mischiefes ; for it is the onely nourisher and mayntainer of all filthinesse, as whoredome, theft, murder, breaking of wedlocke, periurie, idolatrie, poperie, &c. vaine playes, filthy pastimes, and drunkenness. Not without cause did Ecclesiasticus saye, that ydleness bringeth much euill : *Otium fuge ut pestem* (sayeth Bullinger) : flee ydlenesse as thou wouldest flee from the plague of pestilence. *Otium enim omne malum edocuit* ; Idlenesse teacheth all euile and mischiefe. Bonauenture sayth : *Otiositas magister nugarum est, et nouerca virtutum* : idleness is the maister of fables and lyes, and the stepdame of all vertue. So Ambrose sayth : *Periculosa otia secura esse virtuti* : this secure ydlenesse is most dangerous that can be to vertue. Therefore, my sonne, doe according to the olde prouerbe, *Qui fugit molam, fugit farinam*.

Eccl. 32, 26

Bullinger in
Decad. 3, ser.
1Theophila in
1 Tim. cap. 1
Bonauant. in
li. meditatione
vit. Christ.

Salomon reprooueth such ydle persons as you are by sending them to the ant, saying : O sluggarde, go to the ant, beholde hir wayes and be wyse, for she, hauing no guyde, gouernour, nor ruler, prepareth hir meate in the summer, and gathereth hir foode in the haruest ; teaching thereby, that if the worde of God cannot instruct vs, yet we shoulde learne at the little ant to labour and prouide for our selues, and not to burthen others : as Saint Paule sayth, If there be any that prouideth not for his owne, and namely for them of his householde, he denyeth the faith, and is worse than an infidell. Agayne he sayeth : Lette him that stole steale no more, but let him rather

Proue. 6, 6,
7, 8
Cap. 30, 25

1 Tim. 5, 8

Ephe. 4, 28

labour and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may haue to giue vnto him that needeth. Howe is it, then, that man shameth not to liue a trifling and an ydle loyterer, considering howe painfully and busilye the poore ant toyleth in the summer, gathering hir prouision and store for the winter, and also hauing such manifest precepts in holy scripture to instruct him, as you heare of Saint Paule himselfe? Therefore he put that precepte to auoyde theft, to moue the Ephesians to labour, for that ydlenesse maketh one to consume his owne goods and treasures, whereby commeth pouertie, of that issueth our deceyt, from thence commeth theft: he addeth a reason why he should labour, not onelye to succour himselfe, but those also that haue neede. He biddeth them simply to worke, but sayth worke that is good, that is to saye, that worke and vocation which God hath ordeyned and appoynted, which is good and profitable to men. A learned father sayth herevpon: *Prohibens prauas ac inutiles artes, vt sunt histrionum, præstigiatorum, magorum, astrologicae, et alia omnes diuinationes, aliaque curiosae diuersorum generum*: Forbidding (by Paule's wordes) euill and vnprofitable artes, as of enterludes, stage playes, jugglings and false sleights, witchcraftes, speculations, diuinations, or fortune tellings, and all other vayne and naughtie curious kynde of artes. Whereby ye haue to note with what kinde of labour and exercise we ought to get our liuings; for if it bee by these, or such like wayes and meanes, it is most detestable and abhominable before God and man, and cannot escape without greate punishment, vnlesse they repent and so turne from their wickednesse.

Youth. Is there no remedie, but that we must get our liuing with our owne labour and trauell?

Age. There is no remedie, for the Lorde hath commanded it, and therefore it must be done; he hath so decreed it: as Iob sayeth, a man is borne to trauel as

Math. Flacc.
Illyricus in
Ephe. cap. 4

the sparkes flee vpward. Daudi sayeth also : Man goeth forth to his worke and to his labour vntil the evening. Neyther are we borne to ourselues onely, but to others also. Plato sayeth : *Homines hominum causa esse generatos* ; eche man was borne and brought into this worlde for others sake, as one man to helpe another. Cicero sayeth : *Non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vendicat, partem amici, &c.* Wee are not borne and brought into this worlde to our selues onely for owne sake, but also for others, for part of our birth and being our countrie doth chalenge, and the other parte our parents and frendes doe require. For otherwise, *homo homini lupus est* ; a man is a wolfe to a man, that is, a devourer one of another. Therefore, let vs labour diligently in good exercises, that we may haue to minister to the needy brethren, remembring alwayes what is sayde : It is a blessed thing to giue rather than to receyue.

Thus you may perceyue throughlye howe commendable the labouring man is, and how detestable and odious the loyterers and ydle persons are in any common wealth : *Otiosos et vagos solitus est appellare fratres muscas, quod nihil facientes boni* ; idlers and wanderers were wont to be called friers flies, which neuer doe any good : teaching hereby, that popishe friers were, and are, but ydlers and loytering vagabondes, good for nothing, but euen as flies flie abroad vpon all mennes meate, to fill themselues of other mens trauels, euen so doe they ; for they go ydelly a limiting abroad, liuing vpon the sweat of other mens trauels. Against such idle friers and monkes Saint Augustine wrote a booke, reproouing earnestly their ydle, couetous life, &c. Seneca, passing by a certaine towne called Vacia, he saw a citizen of Rome ydle and loytering, sayde, *Hic situs est Vacia* ; here lieth or sitteth the filth and dung of Vacia. It was truly

Psal. 104, 23
Act. 20, 34
Ephe. 4, 28
1 Cor. 12, 25
2 Thes. 3, 8
1 Thes. 4, 12
Plato

Cic. 1. lib. 1.
de officiis

Gal. 5, 15

Act. 20, 35

Centurion, 13
Ca. 10. fo.
1152

sayde of one, *quod otium pulvinar est Satanae*; that idlenesse is Sathans fetherbed and pillowe, that he layeth all ydlers and loyterers to sleepe vpon. The prophet Ezechiell sayth, it was one of the sinnes of Sodom for which God plagued them, saying, This was the iniquitie of thy sister Sodom, pryde, fullnesse of breade, and abundaunce of ydlenesse, was in hir, &c. Saint Paule also reproueth a sort of yong widowes which were in his time, and liued ydelly, saying: Refuse the yonger widowes, for they, being ydle, haue learned to go about from house to house; yea, they are not only ydle, but also prattlers and busie bodies, speaking things whiche are not comely. Here may you see what mischiefes ensue of ydlenesse both in men and women.

In olde time (we reade) that there was vsually caried before the mayde, when she shoulde be married, and came to dwell in her husbandes house, a distaffe charged with flaxe, and a spyndle hanging at it, to the intente she might be myndefull to lyue by hir labour. Also among the Romaines, when anye mayde shoulde be married, it was alwayes solemnized vpon the working daye, to teach what they must doe, &c. Likewise they were wont, in olde time, to haue paynted snayles in their houses, to teache them thereby alwayes to keepe home within their owne house, and to see hir seruants labour in their businesse duly and truly, for the auoyding of ydlenesse, the mother of all other vices. Saint Hierome counsayled the mayde Demetrias to eschue ydlenesse; and, therefore, when she had made an end of hir prayers, he willed her to go in hande with wooll and weauing, that by such change of workes the dayes seeme not long. He bid her not to worke for that she was in any pouertie (being one of the noblest women in Rome), but that by such occasion of working she shoulde put out of hir mynde foolishe and filthie imaginations

and fantasies. A certaine woman of Lacedemon, taken prisoner in warre, was asked what she could doe? I can (sayeth she) rule an house. So Aristotle sayth that in keeping of an house, it is the man's part to get, and the woman's to keepe; but if she be spending and wastfull, prodigall and ydle, Ecclesiasticus counsaile must be followed, where he sayth: Set a good locke where an euill wife is, and to locke where manye handes are. *Otiositas omnium vitiorum magistra atque origo est*; Idlenesse (sayeth Chrysostome) is the mystres and beginning of all vice and wickednesse. Cato sayth: *Segnitiam fugito, quæ vitæ ignavia fertur, Nam cum animus languet consumet inertia corpus*; as if he should saye, a slothful and ydle life is to be fled, for when the mynde is vnlustie, then ydlenesse consumeth the bodie.

Idlenesse, moste delectable to the fleshe, which deliteth aboue measure in sloth, lithernesse, ceasing from occupation, sluggishnesse and heavinesse of mynde, and it hath a desire to be doing of nothing, and to be voyde of all care and businesse. Yea, and this remember, my sonne Youth, that filthie lustes are chiefly nourished by excesse and ydlenesse; for thereof is the firebrande kindled, and thereof is the oyle poured in and ministered so abundantly, as not without cause that learned father, Peter Martyr, sayd, *Quamvis autem otium alat alioqui multa mala, nihil tamen aut facilius aut magis alit, quam libidinem*: that is, Although ydlenesse otherwise nourisheth many euils, notwithstanding she nourisheth nothing more easie than sensualitie and vnlawful luste (of whoredome): therefore it was sayde of that wittie poet,

Eccl. 42, 6

P. Martyr in
comment. in 2
lib. sam. cap.
11

*Queritur Ægisthus quare sit factus adulter?
In promptu causa est; desidiosus erat.*

Ouid

It is asked wherefore Ægisthus
was adulter made?

The cause is playne, and quickly knowne,
since he with sloth was cladde.

Youth. I perceyue the blinde eateth many a flie; for
Iohn, 12, 35 as Christ sayth, He that walketh in the darke knoweth
not whither he goeth; and Saint Paule sayde that hee
knewe not lust had bene sinne, except the law had
Rom. 77 sayde, thou shalt not lust. Even so may I say, that I
had not knowne that idlenesse had bene such a detesta-
ble sinne as it is, except God had opened this to me by
the meanes of you. Nor yet that Satan thereby vseth
to seduce and bring vs from all vertue to vice, from faith
Eccl. 33, 25 to infidelitie, according as Ecclesiasticus sayth: Idlenesse
bringeth much euill; and as the saying of olde hath
bene, *Otia dant vitia.*

Age. It is the waye and practise that Satan vseth to
Matt. 13, 25 steale into our hearts, that he may possesse us: as Christ
sayth, While man slept there came his enemy (Satan)
and sowed tares among the wheate, &c. As we see in
King Dauid; when he was young he exercised himselfe
Psal. 132, 3, in preparing a house for the Lorde, and sayde, I will
4, 5 not enter into the tabernacle of mine house, nor come
vppon my bed, nor suffer mine eyes to sleepe, nor myne
eyeliddes to slumber, vntil I finde out a place for the
Lorde, an habitation for the mightie God of Jacob.
After, when he began to be ydle, it is sayde in the booke
of Samuel, that Dauid went not uppe with Joab, his
captaine, but sent him, and all his seruants with him,
2 Sam. 11, 1, against the Children of Ammon, to besiege Rabbath:
2, 3 but (sayth the text) Dauid remained in Jerusalem,
and fell to lye ydelly upon his bed at noone or euening
tyde, and rose vp and walked vpon the roofe of his
palace; and from the roofe he saw Bethsheba, Uriah the
Hittite's wife, washing of herselfe, and she was beauti-
ful to looke vpon, &c.; and Dauid sent for hir, and she
came vnto him, and he lay with hir, and gate hir with

childe, &c. By this example you may see the dangerous falles that God's children fall into by this detestable vice of ydlenesse. And, therefore, that old saying, by you alledged, is most true, *Otia dant vitia*: idlenesse bringeth and gathereth (wheresoeuer she entereth) all maner vices and wicked sinnes. Ambrose hath a prety apt similitude to set forth the nature of Satan vnto vs, and also his sleighes and craftie practises to deceyue vs, to the ende we thereby may the better auoyde his subtilties.

Youth. I praye you, good father Age, declare it to mee, that I may learne somewhat, thereby to auoyde that wickedemie.

Age. The similitude is of a crabbe and of an oyster, as thus: The crab (sayth Ambrose) deliteth very much to eate of the meate of oysters; but for that they (oysters) are so strongly and well fenced with two harde shelles, which he cannot breake by strength, therefore he wayteth diligently to bring the oysters out of the water into the hote sunne. Whiles the oysters open with the sunne, and with the ayre and wynde, the crab presently putteth a little stone into the oyster as he gapeth, whereby hee cannot close or bring together againe his shelles; then, afterwarde the crab, without daunger, putteth in his clawes, and deuoureth the fleshe at his pleasure. Even so (sayth he), when men are given to ydlenesse, and open their mindes vnto pleasures, the deuill commeth and casteth into our mindes and hearts filthie cogitations, in such sort that our shell, which before did defend vs, cannot be drawne close together againe: then, full easily doth he deuoure vs cleane.

Ambros in
Hexameron,
lib. 5, cap. 8

Youth. I promise you this is a proper similie, verye aptly applied by S. Ambrose; yet, I pray you, let me a litle further trouble you about this matter of ydlenesse.

Age. It shall be no trouble to mee ; saye on, in the name of God, what you haue to demande, and I will answere you, as God shall give me leaue and knowledge.

Youth. You have, heretofore, mightily beaten downe all ydlenesse, affirming also that God detesteth it, and yet (by your pacience) I doe reade in the law, that God himselfe commandeth vs to be ydle, saying (in the
Exo. 20, 10 fourth commandment) The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God : in it thou shalt doe no manner of worke, thou, nor thy sonne, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy mayde, nor thy beast, nor the straunger that is within thy gates, &c. Whereby it appeareth that the Lord alloweth of ydlenesse, &c.

Age. You must learne to distinguish this word “idle-
nesse,” as Saint Augustine teacheth you, saying, *Est otium desidix, et otium cogitationis* : that is, there is ydlenesse of sitting still, and there is ydlenesse of meditations. Verye well noted was it also of Brentius, saying : *Est otium ignarum quo inertes parant se non ad negotia, sed ad delicias et voluptates : est otium honestum et necessarium, quo boni viri reddunt se aptiores ad negotia, et vocationes suas sectandas. Tale otium non solum suasit, sed mandauit Deus in lege, dum instituit sabbatum, et iubet in eo non hominem tantum, verum etiam iuuenca quiescere. Otiemur non ad luxum, quod impii et ignari solent, sed ad pietatem, &c.* That is : there is a beastly and slothfull ydlenesse, which ydle persons get to themselues, not for labours, but for pleasures and delites : there is also an honest and necessarie ydlenesse, whereby good men are made more apte and ready to doe their labors and vocations wherevnto they are called. This kynde of ydlenesse God doth not onely persuade, but also commandeth it in his lawe ; in that he appoynted the Sabbath day, and commaunded that in

August. de
vera religio-
ne, cap. 35

Brentius in
Luc. cap. ...
Homil. 85

it, not onely manne shoulde rest, but the beasts also. Let vs then be ydle, not for carnall pleasures, as the wicked and vngodly are wonte, but for godlynesse and vertue's sake, &c. Maister Bullinger also sayeth: *Sabbatum à Deo institutum est, non propter otium per se: otium enim Deus nusquam per se approbat; proinde otium Sabbati commendatur propter aliud, nimirum propter diligens religionis studium; ideo enim feriandum præcipitur à laboribus manuriis, ut hoc totum tempus impendamus exercitio religionis.* That is: The Sabbath day was appointed of God not for idlenesse simply: idlenesse of itselfe is no where allowed of God; therefore, the ydlenesse of the Sabbath day was commended for another purpose, that is for the studie and diligent desire of religion. Therefore, he commaunded to rest from our handie labors, that we might bestow all that time in the exercise of religion. It is likewise in the very same commaundement sayde, that God rested the seuenth day, &c. Shall we conclude, with the heretikes, that God sitteth ydly in heaven, and hath no care of his creatures by his heavenly providence, nowe he hath once created them? (God forbid). This rest of God (as the scripture testifieth) was *à creatione, sed non à gubernatione*, it was from creating, but not from governing and ordering them; for he doth alwayes by his power sustaine them, by his providence gouerne and rule them, and by his goodnesse nourishe them. Wee must reste, therefore, from handie and bodily workes, but we must not cease from such workes as pertaine vnto the true worshipping of God. This seruice among the fathers was vsed in iiij. things. That is: First—in reading, interpreting, and hearing of Scriptures. Secondly—in prayers, publike and priuate, in celebrating and receyuing of sacraments. Thirdly—in collecting and gathering for the poore and indigent. Fourthly—in visit-

Bullinger in
Ierom. ca. 17

Exo. 20, 11

Actes, 11, 29
1 Cor. 16, 2

ing and distributing to the poore, and making of peace and vnitie among neighbours, where any controuersie was.

Youth. Then, I perceyue we must refrayne from other labors vpon the Sabboth (except those which you haue specified); and so of necessitie we ought not to vse any labor or worke, what neede or necessitie soeuer there should be.

Matt. 12, 8
Luc. 6, 6
Marc. 3, 1

Age. You must note that the Sabboth was made for man, and not man for the Sabboth; and therefore is the sonne of man lorde ouer the Sabboth. The Sabboth was instituted of God to conserue man, and not to destroy man; and therefore the Sabboth is to be dispensed withall as often as it shall be through our necessitie, safetie, or health, so required. Of the which thing our Sauour Christ disputeth in Mathew and Luke, for in such things the libertie of the Christians doth consist. And whereas the Priests and Leuites were exercised openly in slaying of beastes in the Temple, scumming, seething, and burning them, prepared for their sacrifices, and were not counted guiltie of the breache of the Sabboth daye, in lyke sorte it shall be lawfull to prepare meate for our neede on the Sabboth day, and to feede the body. Mattathius thought it had not bene lawfull to fight vpon the Sabboth day; but when he considered the ende of the Sabboth, howe it was ordeyned to preserue, and not to destroye, willed all men to make battel vpon the Sabboth day, bicause they might not die all of them as their brethren did, which were murdered by their enemies. So is it lawfull vpon the Sabboth daye to heale the sicke, to visit the sicke and prisoners, to succour the needy, to fight in defence, that we may preserve the creature of God. If it bee lawfull (as Christ sayth) to drawe a beast out of a ditch or myre, to saue a horse that is ready to fall, or a burning, or to moore a ship

Luc. 6, 9
Marc. 3, 4

Rom. 14, 6

Num. 28, 9

Mat. 12, 5

1 Macha. 2,
40. 41

Luc. 6, 9
Math. 12, 11
Luc. 13, 15

faster that is ready to runne against the rockes, why is it not lawfull on the Sabboth day to gather together corne or haye, which hath layne abrode a long time, and to saue it, least it shuld, through the iniurie and force of the weather, and hie floudes and springs of waters, be vtterly destroyed?

Youth. If it be so as you haue sayd, why then did Moses and Aaron commaunde the congregation to stone to death that man, that was founde gathering stickes vpon the Sabboth day? And why doth God threaten such plagues on those, that carie any burthen on the Sabboth day?

Num. 15, 32,
35, 36
Exo. 31, 13,
14

Iere. 17, 21

Age. In that he was stoned to death was not simply for gathering of stickes, or that he did this of necessitie, or of ignorance or simplicitie (as some suppose) but for that he did it of set purpose, contumeliously, obstinately, and stubbornely didde breake and violate this commaundement of God; or, as it were, in spite of Moses, God's magistrate, woulde doe this in the open face of all people, teaching others (by his example) to do the like: therefore Moses commaunded to stone him to death according to the lawe. For if he had done it of ignorance, necessitie, and simplicitie, then shoulde not he haue died (as it is expressed in the very same chapter), but certaine burnt offerings had bene offered to the Lorde for him, &c. But (sayeth the lawe) if anye person doeth presumptuously despise the worde of God, and breake his commaundements, he shall be vtterly cut off from among the people, &c. Whereby you may perceyue, that he was put to death for his contempt against the Lorde. And for that cause Lyrach supposeth this man was first kept in prison, vntill it was tryed out whether he did it contemptuously or ignorantly. And for that God sayth, He that defileth the Sabboth shall die the death, &c. it was repeated of God for a speciall poynte, teaching hereby

Num. 15, 24
27

Leui. 4, 27

Lyr. in
Num. cap. 15,
in Glo. ordi.
Exod. 31, 14

that the whole keeping of the lawe standeth in the true vse of the Sabbath, which is to cease from our workes, and to obey the will of God, for the obseruation of the Sabbath doth extende as well vnto the faith we haue in God, as vnto the charitie of our neighbors. Also by this example we see the authoritie of the magistrate, howe it is, not onely to punish matters and faultes committed against the second table, but also for faultes and trespasses committed against the first table, for matters touching religion. So S. Augustine sayth: *In hoc reges, sicut eis diuinitus præcipitur Deo seruiunt in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad diuinam religionem*: that is: In this kings, as it is commaunded them of God, doe serue God as kings, if in their kingdome they commaunde good things, and forbid euill things, not only those things which pertayne to humaine societie, but also to all godly religion. Some read of Nabuchodonozor, howe he serued God, when he forbad by a terrible law all men dwelling in his kingdome from blaspheming God. So likewise we may reade of that godly king Ezechias, how he destroyed the temple of the idols, &c. Whereby we see, that princes may lawfully deale in matters of religion, and also may lawfully put to death open and obstinate papistes, and heretikes, that holde any false doctrine, manifestly against the worde and commaundement of God. Whereas Christ sayth: Let both the tares and wheate grow together vntill the haruest, &c., appertayneth nothing vnto the magistrate, but vnto the minister onely, &c. As for the place of Ieremie, you shall note, that he goeth aboute to shewe the Iewes the right keeping of the lawe; for by naming the Sabbath day he comprehendeth the thing that is thereby signified, for if they transgressed in the ceremonie, they must needes be culpable of the rest, which is meditating, the spiritual

Caluinus in
Exod. cap. 15

August. contra
Crescen.

Dani. 3, 29

2 Reg. 18, 4

Deute. 13, 5

Mat. 13, 30

Beza de pu-
niend. heret.
Iere. 17, 22

Sabboth or rest, hearing of God's worde, and resting from worldly trauells; and doth also declare that by the breaking of this one commaundement he maketh them transgressors of the whole lawe, forasmuch as the first and seconde table are therein containned; that is, as I haue sayde before, fayth towardes God and charitie towardes our neighbors; and not for our owne fantasie, Nehe. 13, 15
 gaine, and pleasure we shoulde goe about our owne businesse, and leaue our duty towards God, and giue our selues to all maner ydlenesse, and ethnicall sportes and pastimes, as is nowe vsed too muche amongst vs. That day is most holy in the which we must apply and giue our selues vnto holy works and spirituall meditations; Nehe. 8, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
 for if we doe but rest (in the Sabboth day) from the workes of the bodie, then do we take y^e like rest as beasts do, and not as the faithfull doe. Saint Hierome to this sayth, *Non sufficit à malis esse otiosum, si quis fuerit à bonis otiosus*: it is not ynouth for man to rest and cease from euill things, if a man be ydle from good things. Hieronym. Epist. 17
 Likewise Saint Augustine sayth: *Quod in otio non debet esse iners vacatio, sed aut inquisitio veritatis, aut inuentio*: that is; in ydlenesse sluggish rest ought to be away, and when he is at rest there ought to be either inquisition of the truth, or inuention of the same.

Youth. What doth this worde Sabboth signifie?

Age. It signifieth in Hebrue quietnesse or rest.

Youth. Howe many Sabboths are there?

Age. Three. The first is corporall, to cease from our bodily labours: seconde is spirituall, to cease from our sinne: thirde is heauenly, that is, after this our pilgrimage and ende of our life, we shall keepe our Sabboth and rest in heauen with Iesus Christ for euer and euer. Esay. 66, 23
 1 Cor. 2, 9
 Reue. 14, 13
 ca. 22, 3, 4, 5

Youth. You haue thoroughly satisfied me in this point; I thank you, good father, for it. Yet I pray you, let me vnderstand what Christ meaneth by saying in S. Mathewe Mat. 12, 36

that of euerye ydle worde that men shall speake, they shall giue account thereof at the daye of iudgement.

Age. That is a sharpe saying and a true : if wee shall giue account for euery ydle worde (O Lorde, be mercifull to vs) what shall we doe, then, for our ydle and sinnefull workes ? By these ydle wordes Saint Hierome vnderstandeth all that is spoken without profite to the hearers, letting passe good and gracious talke, and speake of friuolous vaine things, full of scurrilitie, and baudrie, &c. Maister Bullinger sayth : Hereby is forbidden all lyes, vanities, and whatsoeuer springeth of the affections of the fleshe. Maister Musculus sayeth, that Christ hereby declareth, that we shall not giue accountes to God onely for deedes, but also for wicked wordes ; not onely for vaine wordes, but for ydle words. If for ydle wordes, what for hurtfull wordes ? what for lyings ? what for slaunders ? what for cursings ? what for ieastings and maskings, what for periuries shall be done hereafter to those at the daye of iudgement ? Wee see hereby, that there is not a worde in our tongue but the Lorde knoweth them wholly altogether. Not without great cause, therefore, did Dauid pray vnto the Lorde, that he would set a watch before his mouth, to keepe the doore of his lippes ; bicause (sayeth Paule) euill speakings corrupt good maners. Saint Paule sayth, that fornication and all vncleannesse, or couetousnes must not be once named among vs, as it becommeth saints. Neither filthinesse, neither foolish talking, neither ieasting, which are things not comelye, but rather giuing of thanks : let your speach be gracious alwayes, poudred with salt. He sayth also : Let no corrupt communication proceede out of your mouthes, but which is good to the vse of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers. In fine, therefore, he concludeth to the Colossians thus : Whatsoeuer ye shall doe in worde or deede, doe all in the name of the Lorde Jesus, giuing thanks to God, euen the Father, by

Hieron. in
Math. 12

Bulling. in
Math. 12

Muscul. in
Math 12

Psal. 139, 4

Psal. 141, 3

1 Cor. 15, 33
Ephe. 5, 3, 4

Collo. 4, 6
Ephe. 4, 29

Collo. 3, 17

him. *O quàm sanctum est os, vnde semper cœlestia erumpunt eloquia!* O (sayeth Augustine) howe holy is that mouth, whereout commeth alwayes heauenlye speeches! Let them take heede, therefore, which speake what they list, saying with the wicked in the Psalme, With our tongue we will preuayle, our lippes are our owne; who is Lorde ouer vs? But (sayth the prophet) the Lorde will cut off all flattering lippes, and the tongue that speaketh proud things. Dauid asketh, what the deceitfull tongue bringeth vnto himselfe? or what doth it auayle him? Salomon sayeth, that life and death are in the power of the tongue, and they that loue it shall eate the fruite thereof.

August. ad
fratres in
Erem. ser. 3

Psal. 12, 4
Psal. 12, 3

Psal. 120, 3
Iam. 3, 5, 6, 7
Prou. 18, 21
Ecc. 5, 14, 15

Youth. Is it not lawfull, then, to vse any kind of ieasting or mery talke, when companies are gathered together, to make them merie withall?

Age. Yes; so that your talke and ieasing be not to the disglorie of God's name, or hurt to your neighbour, you maye. For there are diuers examples in the scriptures of pleasant talke, which is also godlye, as Eliah ieasted with Baal's prophetes, saying: Crie loude, for he (meaning Baall, the Idoll) is a god: eyther he talketh, or pursueth his enimies, or is in his iourney, or it may be that he sleepeth, and must be awaked, &c. When honest iesting (to good honest endes) be vsed, it is tollerable. Therefore, Paule sayeth, not simplye (ieasting), but addeth, whiche are things not comely, meaning ieasting that is full of scurrilitie and filthinesse.

Collo. 3, 17

1 Reg. 18, 27
Esa. 4, 4, 11,
12
Baruc, 6, 13,
14, 15, 16,
17, 18, 19,
20

2 Cor. 12, 13

Youth. Well, let this passe, and let vs come againe to our talke that we had before; which was, that you went about to driue me to labour for my liuing, and that euerye man shoulde walke in his vocation, to get his breade in the sweate of his face. Well, I tell you plaine, playes must be had, and we will haue them, say you to the contrarie what you lyst.

Prou. 21, 17 *Age.* Salomon sayeth, he that loueth pastimes shall
 Cap. 20, 13 be a poore man, &c. Agayne he sayth : By slothfulnesse
 Eccle. 10, 18 the rooffe of the house goeth to decay, and by the ydlenesse
 of the handes the house droppeth through. Againe ; a
 Prou. 10, 4 diligent hande maketh riche, but a slothfull hande maketh
 Prou. 12, 11 poore. He that tilleth his lande shall be satisfied with
 breade, but he that followeth the ydle is destitute of de-
 fence, &c.

Math. 6, 25, *Youth.* And it please you, sir, Christ biddeth vs not
 26, 28 to bee carefull for our liues, what we shall eate and
 drinke, and sayeth that the lillies of the fiede labour not,
 neyther spinne, yet Salomon was neuer arrayed like vnto
 them : and also that the birdes do not sowe, reape, nor
 carie into the barne, &c. We are bidden, also, not to
 care for to-morowe, for the morrowe shall care for it
 1 Pet. 5, 7 selfe, the day hath inough with his owne grieve, &c. By
 this I doe gather, that labour is not so necessarie, or that
 wee shoulde haue any care, but to cast all our care vpon
 the Lord, for he careth for vs ; and, therefore, what
 neede we to labour ?

Age. Christ doth not here clerely forbidde all kinde
 of care, but onely that which commeth of a diffidence and
 mystruste in God's prouidence. You must consider that
 there are two sortes of cares. First is that which is
 ioyned with fayth, by honest labour to prouide for his
 familie things honest and necessarie ; for otherwise
 1 Tim. 5, 8 (sayeth Saint Paule) he denieth the fayth, and is worse
 than an infidell. The seconde is that which riseth of
 doubt or despayre, or of an epicuriall care and mistrust
 in the Lorde, and this kynde of care is here by Christ
 reprobued. For Christ's words teach vs, that God will
 prouide for euery day that that shall bee necessarie,
 though wee doe not encrease the present grieve thereof
 by the carefulnesse howe to liue in time to come. And
 here you must note and marke that Christ our Sauour

doth not say, labour not for meate and drinke, but be not carefull (sayth he) : he doth not prohibit or forbid labour, but heathenishe and an epicureall carefulnesse : *Verum incrementum Dei non datur otiosis, sed operantibus, ac seminantibus* : God giueth not increase to ydlers, but to them that worke and sowe, &c. So Saint Paule sayth : *Vnusquisque manibus suis laboret, vt habeat et vnde det necessitatem indigenti*, &c. Let euery manne labour and worke with his hands, that hee maye haue wherewithall to giue them that suffer neede. And if your reason did holde true, then we should neede neuer to pray for our necessities ; for that Christ sayth, your heauenlye father knoweth what neede we have before we aske. Againe, be not carefull what you shall eate or drinke, &c. shall we therefore conclude herevpon that we must not pray, or care little or nothing what we eate or drinke, whether it bee poyson, carrion, or anye vnwholesome thing. No man is so foolishhe, I trowe, so to doe ; and as for the birdes that doe not sowe or reape, and the lillies that labour not, neyther spinne, &c., although I may say to you, *legibus enim viuimus, non exemplis*—wee liue by lawes, and not by examples—yet S. Augustine shall answere you in this point (who, hauing iust occasion to reprove certain ydle monkes that were in his dayes, which would not labour for their liuing, as they ought to doe, but tooke occasion (as you doe), by the example of the birdes of heauen and lillies of the fieldes, to be altogether ydle from any labour or good exercise of their bodies, or handy occupations, learning thereby to liue, like the ydle dumble bee in the hyue, vpon the sweate and trauels of other mennes labours) : *Si vultis (inquit) imitari volucres et lilia, cur hæc quoque illa non imitamini? Lilia non comedunt aut bibunt : aues non recondunt in crastinum, neque congregant in apothecas, neque molunt et coquunt : at vos*

Musculus in
Gene. cap. 26

1 Thes. 4, 11,
12
2 Thes. 3, 12

Math. 6, 8
Math. 6, 32

editis et bibitis, et studiose reconditis: that is; If you will imitate and followe the example of the byrdes and lillies (not to labour) wherefore doe ye not also imitate them also in this poynte? the lillies neyther eate nor drinke; the birdes doe not lay vppe against the morowe, neither gather together into the sellars, neither doe they grinde corne, seeth or boyle meate; yet you do eate and drinke, and are carefull and diligent to lay vp in store, you do grynde corne, and seeth and boyle meate (for your vse): *hoc enim aues non faciunt*; this the birdes (and lilies) doe not, sayth Augustine. S. Chrysostome sayth: *Non dixit, nolite laborare, sed nolite solliciti esse: ergo solliciti esse vetamur, laborare autem iubemur. Sic enim Dominus, loquens ad Adam, non dixit cum sollicitudine facies tibi panem, sed cum labore et sudore faciei tuæ: ergo non sollicitudinibus spiritualibus, sed laboribus corporalibus acquirendus est panis: sicut laborantibus enim pro præmio diligentiae, Deo præstante, panis abundat; sic dormientibus et negligentibus, pro pœna negligentiae, Deo faciente, subducitur, &c.*; that is: The Lorde did not say labour not, but be ye not carefull: therefore we are forbidden to be carefull, but we are commaunded to labour. So the Lorde sayde unto Adam; he sayde not to him, with carefulnesse thou shall get thy breade, but with the labour and sweate of thy face. Therefore, not with spirituall carefulnesse, but with corporall labours, our breade is to be gotten: as to the labourers, for the rewarde of their diligence (by the blessing and helpe of God), their breade increaseth; so to the slothfull and negligent, for the punishment of their slothfulnesse and ydlenesse, God sendeth them penurie and want, &c.

Nowe, my sonne, you haue hearde, by God's worde and the ancient fathers, what you ought to doe; therefore, learne you firste to seeke the kingdome of God and his righteousnesse, and all these other things shall be mi-

Ibidem.

Chrisost. in
Math. cap. 6,
homil. 15

2 Tim. 2, 6

2 Pet. 2, 13
Prou. 12, 11

nistred vnto you : that is, applye the hearing of God's worde, and amende your life, for God of his owne will begat vs with the worde of truth, that we should be the first frutes of his creatures : and also to learne to walke in that vocation wherevnto everye man is called, as God maye bee glorified, the poore members of Christe comforted, and oure selues sauéd.

Math. 6, 33
Deut. 28, 1,
2, 3, 4, 5
Iames, 1, 18

Rom. 12, 7, 8,
Math. 5, 16
1 Pet. 2, 12
Lu. 1, 74, 75

Youth. By this your long discourse against ydlenesse, it seemeth to mee that you doe condemne hereby all princes, noblemen, magistrates, preachers, scholemasters, &c.; for they labor not, nor haue any handiecraft to get their liuing withall.

Age. You must note that there are two sortes of labours : one is of the mynde and wit ; the other of the hands and body. And so the prince, rulers, magistrates, preachers, counsaylers, &c., in their vocation and calling, laboureth (with great studie and industrie of mynde and wytte) for the promoting of God's glorie, the good gouernement and state of the commonwealth, teaching and preaching to the ignorant poople, to keepe men in peace and tranquillitie : for you must not thinke that they labour not, which doe not labour at the plowe, cart, or otherwise with their hands ; for the eternall God hath appoynted and diuided his church militant, for these foresayde causes into foure partes : first, into principallitie ; seconde, into nobilitie ; thirde, into pastoralitie ; fourthly, into vulgaritie : so that euery member hath his office and calling, not to be ydle, but alwayes diligent and laboursome in their vocations accordingly : therefore, whatsoever the diuersitie is, yet the profit is common, and serveth to the edification of the church. So that it appeareth, it is no small carke and care that princes, rulers, pastors, &c., haue and take, continuallye watching when others sleepe, according to this saying,

Ro. 13, 1, 2,
3.
1 Cor. 12, 28
Ephe. 4, 28
Rom. 12, 4, 5,
7, 8
1 Cor. 12, 11
1 Timo. 2, 2
Actes 2, 28
1 Pet. 5, 2
1 Tim. 5, 17

Eccle. 17, 15
1 Cor. 12, 14
1 Pet. 2, 13
1 Tim. 2, 2
Ephe. 4, 11
1 Cor. 12, 28
Ec. 38, 32, 34

Juuenal

Non decet integram noctem dormire regentem—

Whom God hath placed to rule aright,

Ought not to sleepe a full whole night.

Eecl. 4, 20

Notwithstanding, yet wee reade in auncient hystories, that excellent men in olde time (when as they had gotten any vacant or leysure time, eyther from holy seruice, or from ciuill matters,) they spent all that leysure time, eyther about husbandrie or about the arte of a shepheard: for they woulde not consume the time away in ydlenesse, sumptuousnesse, gluttonie, drunkennesse, and vayne pastimes and playes. And this shall we not only see in Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Gideon, &c., and other holy fathers and apostles of Christ Iesu, &c.; but also it manifestlye appeareth by the Romaine hystories, wherein appeareth, that Curius and Seranus, and such like, were elected chiefe magistrates, when they were in the fieldes at plough, tilling the grounde. It is also written that Xerxes, king of Persia, in vacant time from the affayres of his realme, he, with his owne handes, would plant innumerable trees, which long ere he died brought forth abundance of fruite, &c. If such men woulde spende no time ydelly, how much lesse shoulde meaner persons doe it; for, as the wyse man sayth: A slothfull man is to be compared to the dung of oxen, &c.: for ydlenesse bringeth much euill.

Eccle. 22, 2
Cap. 33, 26

Youth. I pray you shew what is ydledesse, and also whether ydlenesse be called ydlenesse onely, in respect that the mynde or bodie ceaseth from labour.

Alexander,
part 2, quest.
126, mem. 2.

Age. Idlenesse is a wicked will, giuen to rest and slothfulnesse from all right, necessarie, godly, and profitable works, &c. Also, ydlenesse is not onely of the bodie or mynde to cease from labour, but especially an omission, or letting passe negligentlye all honest exercises; for no day ought to be passed ouer without some good profitable exercises, to the prayse of God's glorious

name, to our brethren's profite, and to our selues commoditie and learning.

Youth. Was there euer any lawes made againste this kinde of ydle life, and sharpe punishment appointed for such ydle persons? I pray you let me knowe it, if there were or be any.

Age. Yes; there hath bene lawes and punishment from time to time appointed and ordeined for such. Alexand.
Seuerus
Alexander the emperour sayth: Forasmuch as ydlenesse, that is to say, (sayth he,) ceasing from necessarie occupations or studies, is the sinke which receyueth all the stinking chanelles of vice, which once being brymfull sodenly runneth ouer through the whole citie, and wyth his pestiferous ayre infecteth a great multitude of people, ere it maye bee stopped and clensed; and that notwithstanding the people, being once corrupted and infected with this pestilence, shal, with great difficultie and with long tract of time, bee deliuered; and therefore he made a lawe, that if any one of the people had bene found ydle by the space of one whole daye, hee should bee whipped, and after by the conservatours committed to some one crafte that he was of: and for every daye that he was seene to be ydle, the person to whom he was committed shoulde (for a monethe's space) sette him to anye labour that hee pleased, as his slaue and bondman, and that no man should giue him meate, or to talke with him, unlesse it were to chyde and rebuke him.

Draco, the lawmaker among the Athenians, made a Draco
lawe, that whosoever was founde an ydle person should haue his head cut off from his bodie.

Areopagite did also use greate diligence, to searche Areopagite
oute what arte or science euery man had to finde himselfe withall, and those whome hee founde to be ydle, hee didde sharpelye punishe them.

The Massyliens woulde suffer, nor receyue anye manne Massyliens

to dwell within their citie, that had not some arte and facultie to get his liuing withall; for, (say they,) *Nul-lam urbibus pestem nocentiorē esse otio*, there is no worse pestilence to a citie than ydlenesse, &c. Accord-
 Eccl. 22, 1, 2 ing, as Syrach sayeth: A slothfull man is to bee com-
 pared to the dung of oxen, and euery one that taketh it
 up will shake it oute of hande; he is like a filthie stone,
 which euery man mocketh at for his shame.

Queene E.
 an. 14 & 18 Queene Elizabeth, in the xiiii and xviii yeres of hir
 gracious reygne, two actes were made for ydle, vagrant,
 and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde
 not worke, shoulde, for the first offence, haue a hole
 burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an
 ynche compasse; and, for the seconde offence com-
 mitted therein, to be hanged.

If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye,
 truly, and seuerely (as they ought to be), without any
 respect of persons, fauour, or friendshippe, this dung
 and filth of ydleness woulde easily be reiected and cast
 oute of thys common wealth; there woulde not be so
 many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blas-
 phemers, and swinge bucklers, so many drunkardes,
 tosepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and min-
 strels, diceplayers and maskers, fencers, theeves, enter-
 lude players, cutpurses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruantes,
 jugglers, roges, sturdye beggers, counterfaite Egyptians,
 &c. as there are; nor yet so manye plagues to bee
 amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles and filthe
 in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane
 caste oute by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those
 that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente. So
 Deut. 13, 5 Moyses sayeth, That they must take the evill awaye
 forth of the myddes of the citie, &c. So sayth Publianus,
Bonis nocet quisquis pepercerit malis: he is very hurt-
 full to good men, whosoeuer fauoureth and spareth the

euill men. Therefore, they must execute iustice, as well upon the proper man that is ydle, as upon the poore man, as well uppon one as upon another, that it may not be sayde,

*Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas,
Crabrones abeunt, recidunt in retia muscæ.*

What faultes great men alwayes committe
Are pardoned still, and goeth quitte;
When as the poore and simple bande
Are vexed cruelly in the lande.
Bicause hornets are very great,
They easily passe through the net,
When as the sillie little flye
Is taken therein continuallye.

Youth. I am very glad (I prayse God) that I haue had this talke and communication with you, good father. I perceyve that nothing is to be had or gotten in absenting from sermons, but evilnesse and losse of good doctrine and instructions, which I haue done through vaine, ydle pastymes and playes; for nowe (by you) I vnderstand that of ydlenesse commeth no goodnesse, but rather the contrary, &c. Also, I see and learne, that euery man (in his calling) ought to labour and get his liuing in the feare of God, and sweate of his browes. And therefore I will henceforth, God willing, speake no more against the worde of truth, but will be ashamed of the lyes of mine owne ignorance: I will not, therefore, be ashamed to confesse my sinnes, and will no more resist the course of the riuer.

Ec. 4, 25, 26
Dani. 9, 5, 6,
7, 8, 9, 10
Lev. 15, 18,
19

Age. I am glad to heare this of you, that you are so reclaimed, and are not ashamed to confesse your lewde life, which is a token that God's spirit is in you: for, as you confesse we ought (euery man in his calling) to

Rom. 8, 26

Ephe. 4, 23 doe good, for in doing nothing we learne to doe euill ;
 so that you now flee from that vaine, ydle life, which,
 before you haue liued and spent a great time therein
 (notwithstanding, *nunquam serum est, quod verum est*,
 that is, neuer to late done, which is truly done), that will
 come to passe that Ouid sayth :

Ouid *Otia si tollas, periure Cupidinis arcus.*

If thou flee ydlenesse,
 Cupid hath no might ;
 His bowe lieth broken,
 his fire hath no light.

Youth. By what meanes shall I frame myself here-
 vnto, and to redresse my former wayes and naughtie
 ydle playes and pastimes? and also my wily, wanton
 lyfe, which will be hard for me to bridle, according to
 that saying of Euripides,

Euripides What custome we in tender youth
 by Nature's lore receaue,
 The same we loue and like alwayes,
 and lothe our lust to leaue.

Iere. 10, 25 *Age.* In dede, as the prophet sayth, The waye of
 man is not in himselfe, neither is it in man to walke and
 to direct his steppes : therefore you must with the same
 Iere. 31, 18 prophet say : Thou hast corrected mee, and I was
 Psal. 37, 23 chastened as an vntamed calfe. Conuert thou me (O
 Lorde), and I shall be conuerted : the paths of man are
 Psal. 119, 9 directed by the Lorde, &c. Wherewithall (sayeth Dauid)
 105 shall a yong man redresse his wayes? In taking hede
 thereunto (sayth he) according to thy worde, for it is a
 lanterne vnto our feete, and a light vnto our pathes, &c.
 Proverb. 2 This worde will deliuer thee (sayth Salomon) from the
 12 euill waye, and from them that leaue the wayes of
 13 righteousnesse, to walke in the wayes of darknesse, which
 14
 20

reioyce in doing euill, and delite in the frowardnesse of the wicked. Therefore, walke thou in the wayes of good men, and keepe the wayes of the righteous. Therefore, (sayth Saint Paule), bee not ouercome of euill, but ouercome euill wyth goodnesse. So that you must be nowe an earnest and continuall hearer of God's worde, often to pray and call vpon God, through Iesus Christ. Alwayes be you tied to some labour and businesse, neuer giue any respit to vn honest lusts, but, with godly studies and honest occupations, resist the pride of the fleshe, and with accustomed fasting, prayers, and repentance, kepe vnder your lasciuious life. For, as S. Ierome sayth: *Semper age aliquid, vt diabolus adueniens semper te inueniat occupatum; non enim facile capitur à Diabolo, qui bono vacat exercitio*; that is: alwayes be doing something, that, when the devill commeth, he may find thee (well) occupied, for he is not easily taken by the devill, that applieth good exercise, &c. You must also call to remembrance what vowe and promise you made in your baptisme: you must remember that we be al called to godlynesse and cleannesse: you must remember the shortnesse of your time, and the uncertaintie thereof: also the paynes of hell for the ungodly, &c. These things shall drawe you awaye from the companies of the wicked, and make you desire the companie of the godly and vertuous men.

Youth. I beseech God I may folow this your good and godly counsell. I beseech you, let me craue your earnest and heartie prayers ynto God for me, that I may crucifie the fleshe with the affections and lusts thereof, and as I liue in the spirite, so I maye walke in the spirite.

Age. I will not fayle but pray for you, that you may obtaine this for his mercies sake; and now I advise thee hereafter to expresse by thy doings thy inward fayth, that God may be glorified, and turne no more to the puddle

Rom. 12, 21

Hierony. de
consec. dist. 5
Cap. Nun-
quam

Roma. 6, 4
1 Thes. 4, 7
Job 14, 1
Mar. 13, 35
Rom. 1, 18

Gal. 5, 20
Mat. 5, 29
Gal. 1, 23

Rom. 29, 11 and vomit of your filthye, ydle life. And thus you see
 2 Pet. 2, 22 the long sufferance of God, and his pacience to us warde,
 2 Pet. 3, 9 that he would haue no man to perishe, but would all
 Ezech. 18, 32 men come to repentance; and that you are now righte-
 Reve. 22, 11 ous, bee you more righteous still, and that you are
 holye, bee you more holy still, &c. So that if these
 things be with you, and abounde in you, they will make
 you (sayth S. Peter) that ye neuer shal be ydle, nor un-
 fruitfull in the knowledge of our Lorde Jesus Christ.

Youth. I perceyve now, more and more still, how good
 and profitable it is to accompany alwayes with the godlye:
 Eccle. 6, 35 thereby a man shall learne godlynesse; for in the com-
 Cap. 8, 9 panie of the wicked there is nothing but wickednesse to
 Cap. 9, 17 be learned.

Eccle. 11, 29 *Age.* It is good counsell, my son, that Salomon giueth,
 saying, Bring not euery man into thine house, for the
 deceytfull haue many traynes, &c. Againe he sayth:
 Cap. 34, 4 Who can be censed by the uncleane? For he that
 Cap. 13, 1 toucheth pitch shall be defiled with it, and he that is fami-
 liar with the proude shall be like unto him, &c., accord-
 ing to the old saying:

If thou with him that haltes doest dwell,
 To learne to halt thou shalt full well.

Youth. By this, your former discourse against ydle-
 nesse, to haue men labour in their vocation and calling,
 doe you hereby include the lame, deafe, blinde, aged, im-
 potent, sicke, &c., and suche as are not sounde in their
 members, &c.?

Age. Nothing lesse. These are exempted, and there-
 fore of necessitie must be holpen accordingly, with the
 ayde and comfort of the publike collection. Therefore, he
 that giueth to the poore, lendeth to the Lorde, and what
 Prov. 19, 17 he layeth out shall bee payde him againe, &c. The poore,
 Marc. 14, 7 sayth Christ, yee shall haue alwayes with you, and when

ye will, ye may doe them good. The fruite of the poore, that is cast into their bosomes, wil returne againe with great profit: blessed is he that provideth for the sick and nedy; the Lorde shall deliuer him in the time of his aduersitie. Giue almes (sayth Tobie) of thy substance, and turne not thy face from anie poore, least God turne his face from thee, &c. Saint Paul willed the churches of the Corinthians, as he willed the churches of Galatia, to make gatherings every first day of the weeke, and put aside and lay up as God hath prospered them, that the necessitie of the saynts might be relieved, &c. Yet there must be a consideration in these also; for many of them which lacke the use of their feete, with their hands may pick wool, and sow garments, or tose okam. Many which lacke armes may worke with their feete, to blowe smithes bellows, &c., to serue to go in errantes, &c., so as muche as maye be in eche respect of persons we must labour to auoyde ydlenesse.

Herein also we must consider to helpe the broken, aged, olde men and women, which neede to be susteyned of the common collection. Also those that be persecuted for the Gospell of Christe must be ayded likewise. Also captiues and prisoners, eyther at home, taken abroad in warres, or else with Turkes. Also menne that haue bene riche and are fallen into pouertie eyther by the seas, fire, or else by any other casualty, must likewise be holpen and succored. Also yung fatherlesse and motherlesse children, pore scholers and needy widowes, &c., and such otherlike must be succoured, aided, and comforted, for the Church goodes are the goodes of the poore, and therefore you must not iudge that I speake so vniuersallye, that these impotent and needy ought not to be holpen, &c. For as we reade in Ludovicus the Emperor's canonical institutions, that *Res ecclesiæ vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, et*

August. de
Verbis Dom.
Serm. 25

Psal. 41, 1

Toby, 4, 9

1 Cor. 16, 1, 2

Act 11, 29

Rom. 12, 13

Acts 12, 25

Math. 25, 35

Iames 1, 27

Conc. Thuro.
sub. Car. mag.
an. 10 and 11

In Institut.
canonic. sub.
Ludovico
Imp. an. 30

patrimonia pauperum; the goodes of the Church be the vowes and bequestes of the faithful, prices to redeme them that are captiues and in prisons, and patrimonies, &c., to succour them with hospitalitie that be poore.

Prosp. in lib.
1. de vita.
contempt.
cap. 9

Prosper also sayth: *Viros sanctos res ecclesiæ non vendicasse vt proprias, sed vt commendas pauperibus dimisse*; good men take the goodes of the Church, not as their owne, but distributed them, as giuen and bequeathed to the poore. Againe he sayth: *Quod habet, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune*; whatsoeuer the Church hath it hath in common with all such as haue neede. It is reported that the churches did distribute

Hebr. 13, 2

these goodes into foure parts: one, and the greatest part, vpon the nedie people onely; the second parte for lodging of straungers; thirdleye, burying of the deade; fourthly, in healing of diseases. It is reported that Serapion had vnder him *Decem millia sub se monachorum, quos omnes sic educabat, vt ex propriis sudoribus necessaria compararet, et aliis ministraret egentibus*: ten thousande monkes, who brought them vp in such order that they gate by their owne labours sufficient for themselues, and also wherewithall to ayde and helpe the needye and indigent, &c. Now, my sonne, you perceyue what sorte of people I speake of, and what sort I speake not of.

Intirpart. bist
li. 8, ca. 1

Youth. You haue herein satisfied me fullye, I prayse God for it.

Iames 1, 17

Age. You doe well to ascribe the prayse vnto God for it, for that euery good and perfect gift commeth from him.

Youth. Seeing that we haue somewhat largely talked and reasoned together of ydle playes and vaine pastimes, let me craue your further pacience, to knowe your iudgement and opinion as touching playes and players, which are commonly vsed and much frequented in most places

in these dayes, especiall ye here in this noble and honourable citie of London.

Age. You demaunde of me a harde question: if I should vtterly deny all kinde of such playes, then shoulde I bee thought too stoicall and precise; if I allowe and admit them in generall, then shall I giue waye to a thousande mischiefes and inconueniences, which daily happen by occasion of beholding and haunting suche spectacles. Therefore, let me vnderstande of what sort and kynde of playes you speake of.

Youth. Are there manye kyndes and sortes of suche lyke playes?

Age. Verie many.

Youth. I pray you declare them vnto me, that I may learn what they are.

Age. Some are called *Ludi Circenses*, whiche vsed to runne with chariots in the great compassed place in Rome, called *Circus*. Others were called *Ludi Compatalitii*, which made playes in the high wayes to the honour of Bacchus. Others were called *Ludi Florales*, which abhominable playes in Rome, to the honour of their strumpetlike goddess *Flora*, in which common women played naked, with wanton wordes and gestures. Another sorte was called *Ludi Gladiatorii*, games of swordeplayers, fighting one with another in harnesse in the sight of the people, endeavouring eche to kill other; a spectacle of crueltie to harden the people's harts against killing in warres. Others are called *Ludi Gymnici*, exercises of running, leaping, throwing the darte, and wrastling. Others were called *Ludi Lupercales*, games wherein yong gentlemen naked, hauing whyppes in their handes, ranne about laughing, and beating all that they mette. Another sorte were called *Ludi Magalenses*, playes made to the honour of the mother of the goddess, with many and sundrie other such lyke vaine playes haue bene inuented.

Ludi Circenses

Ludi Compatalitii

Ludi Florales

Ludi Gladiatorii

Ludi Gymnici

Ludi Lupercales

Ludi Magalenses

Youth. I neuer hearde so much, nor so manye sortes of playes before ; yet you haue not named those playes and players which I would gladly heare of.

Age. What playes are they which you would so fayne heare of ?

Youth. They are stage playes and enterludes, which are nowe practised amongst vs so uniuersally in towne and country.

Histriz is a little beast with speckled prickles on his back, whiche he will cast off and hurt menne with them, which is, as Plinie sayth, a porkepine

Age. Those are called *Histriones*, or rather *Histrices*, which play vpon scaffoldes and stages enterludes and comedies, or otherwise, with gestures, &c.

Youth. What say you to those players and playes ? Are they good and godly, meete to be vsed, haunted, and looked vpon, which nowe are practised ?

Age. To speake my minde and conscience plainly (and in the feare of God) they are not tollerable, nor sufferable in any common weale, especially where the Gospell is preached ; for it is right prodigalitie, which is opposite to liberalitie. For as liberalitie is to helpe, and succour with worldly goods the man which is poore, and standeth needefull thereof ; and also to giue to the marriage of poore maydens, high wayes, or poore scholers, &c., so prodigalitie is to bestow mony and goods in such sort as it [is] spent either in banketting, feasting, rewardes to players of enterludes, dicing, and dauncing, &c., for the which no great fame, or memory can remayne to the spenders or receyuers thereof.

Youth. I haue hearde say that one Plautus, a comicall poet, spent all his substance vpon players' garments ; also one Roscius, a Romane and a player in comedies (whom for his excellencie in pronounciation and gesture, noble Cicero called his iewell) : the Romaines also gaue him (as hystories reporte) a stipende of one thousand groates for euery daye (which is in our money xviij^s. iiij^d.) ; Lucius Silla, being Dictatour, gaue him a ring of gold, &c.

Sith these, and such other, gaue to such vses, why may we not doe the like ?

Age. Bicause these are no examples for Christians to followe : for Christ hath giuen vs a farre better rule and order, how to bestowe our goodes vpon his needie members whiche lie in the streetes, prisons, and other places ; and also those that are afflicted and persecuted for the testimonie of a good conscience for the Gospells cause, &c. No man (sayth Chrysostome) was euer blamed bicause he had not builded vp costly temples or churches, &c., but euerlasting fire of hell (the punishment of the deuilles) doe hang over vs, except wee doe consider Christe in his members, wandering as straungers, lacking harbourough, and as prisoners wanting visitation, &c. The like maye I say of the giftes, buildings, and maintenance of such places for players, a spectacle and schoole for all wickednesse and vice to be learned in. Saint Augustine sayth, *Donare quippe res suas histrionibus, vitium est immane, non virtus* : whosoeuer giue their goodes to enterlude and stage players is a great vice and sinne, and not a vertue. What doe the hystories report of Plautus ende, that was so prodigall ?

Luc. 12, 23
Math. 19, 28
Mar. 14, 7
Math. 25
1 Tim. 6, 18

Chrisost. 1,
tom. hom. 51

Aug. in
Iob. tract, 100

Youth. I knowe not ; therefore I praye you shewe me.

Age. Histories report, that he was brought iuto such pouertie, that he was fayne to serue a baker in turning a querne, or handmill, to get his liuing, &c. Vespasian gaue out of his coffres sixe hundred pounce to Latine and Greeke readers : so did Plinie his nephew, the like, for the which they deserued greate fame, and encreased in great welth and riches.

Cooper

Youth. Doe you speake against those places also, whiche are made vppe and builded for such playes and enterludes, as the *Theatre* and *Curtaine* is, and other such lyke places besides ?

Age. Yea, truly ; for I am perswaded that Satan hath

not a more speedie way, and fitter schoole to work and teach his desire, to bring men and women into his snare of concupiscence and filthie lustes of wicked whoredome, than those places, and playes, and theatres are; and therefore necessarie that those places, and players, shoulde be forbidden, and dissolued, and put downe by authoritie, as the brothell houses and stewes are. Howe did the Beniamites ouercome and take awaye the daughters of Israell, but in watching them in a speciall open place, where they were accustomed, vpon the festiuall dayes, to sporte and daunce most ydelly and wantonly? D. Peter Martyr (that famous learned man) vpon this place sayth: Hereby we may perceiue, that the virgins gaue themselves to playes and daunces, which was to abuse the feast day: it had bene better for them to have occupied themselves about grauer matters; for the feast dayes were to this ende instituted, that the people should assemble together to heare (not playes) but the worde of God, to bee present at the sacrifices, where they shoulde both calle vpon God, and communicate together the sacramentes instituted of God. Wherefore, it is no maruayle if these maidens were stollen away, resorting to such open place, &c.

Jud. 21, 20,
21

P. Martyr in
Eud. cap. 21

Cooper

August. li. 2
cap. 17, de
ciuitate Dei

Iho. dodoui.

Romulus (after that Remus, his brother, was slayne) erected and builded vp a certaine spectacle, and place of safegarde, for all transgressours that woulde come thither, practising thereby to rauishe all maidens of the countrie resorting to their newe erected place in Mount Palatine, at solemne games and playes, ouercame the people of Cenia, and slue their king, &c. Saint Augustine sayeth, that the women of Saba, being of curiositie desirous to bee present at open spectacles, were rapted and rauished by the Romaines, whereof followed such warres, that both nations were almost destroyed. In consideration of this and the like, Scipio Nasica (that worthie Romaine) ob-

teyned in the senate, that all theatres and stage playes shoulde be abolished, for that it was so hurtfull vnto publike and ciuill maners. Also S. C. destroyed vtterly that theatre place that was so gorgeously builded, and gaue commaundement that no suche places should be builded againe in the citie of Rome, and that they shoulde not make any seates or benches to sitte vpon (for to beholde such playes in suche places) neyther in the citie, nor yet within a myle compasse thereof, &c. I would to God our magistrates would folow those good and wholesome examples.

Viues in li. 1,
de ciuitate
Dei, cap. 31

A good wishe
of the author

Youth. I haue heard manye, both men and women, saye that they can resort to such playes, and beholde them without any hurt to themselues or to others; and that no lust nor concupiscence is inflamed or stirred vp in them, in the beholding of anye person, or of the playes themselues. Howe, say you, may it be so?

Age. Saint Chrysostome shall answere them, who wrote onely of such as you speake of, that resorted to such playing places. Some curious, daintie, and nyce persons, (sayeth he) hearing this, will saye, (to excuse their sinnes and follies) we that do resort to beholde, and consider the beautie and fairnesse of women at theaters, and stage playes are nothing hurt thereby. Dauid (sayeth he) was sore hurt (in beholding Bersabe) and thinkest thou to escape? He did not behold an harlot, but on the top of his house, *tu autem in theatro, vbi condemnat animam sapientis*: thou beholdest them in an open theatre, a place where y^e soule of the wise is snared and condemned. In those places (sayeth he) thou seest not only *res infaustas*, vnlawfull things, but also hearest *spurciloquia*, filthie speaches, whereof is (sayth he) *in-cessu meretricis*, the beginning of whoredome, and the habite of all euilnesse and mischief; where thou shalt, by hearing diuelishe and filthie songs, hurte thy chaste eares,

Chrysost. in
Psal. 50, hom.
1

Prou. 7, 6, 7

and also shalt see that which shall be greuous vnto thine eyes ; for our eyes are as windowes of the mynde :
 Jerem. 9, 21 as the prophete sayeth, Death entred into my windowes, that is, by mine eyes. Possible thou wilt say (sayeth he) I am not mooued with those sightes. What art thou,
 Iam. 3, 5, 6 yron, (sayth he) stone, or an adamant? Art thou wiser,
 Prou. 6, 27 stronger, and holier than Dauid? A little sparkle of fire cast into strawe beginneth quickly to kindle and flame : our fleshe is strawe, and will burne quickly; and for that cause the Holy Ghost setteth Dauid for an example to vs, that we shoulde beware of such contagiousnesse. Iob sayd : I haue made a couenant with mine eyes. Why, then, shoulde I thinke vpon a mayde ?
 Iob. 31, 2 Dauid also made his prayer to God, saying : O Lorde !
 Psal. 119, 37 turne away mine eyes from regarding vanitie, and quicken me in thy way. Saint Ambrose, vpon these wordes,
 Ambrose, in Psal. 118 calleth stage playes vanities, wishing that he coulde call
 Serm. 5 backe the people which runne so fast thither, and willetth them to turne their eyes from beholding all such playes and enterludes. The lyke saying hath Saint August.
 August. in Psal. 81

Lactantius sayeth, that the eyes are diuers and variable, which are taken by the beholding of things which are, in the vse of men, nature, or delectable things. *Vitanda ergo spectacula omnia.* All suche spectacles and shewes (sayeth he) are, therefore, to be auoyded ; not onelye because vices shall not enter our heartes and breastes, but also least the custome of pleasure shoulde touche vs, and conuerte vs thereby both from God and good workes.

Youth. I perceyue by your communication, that none ought to haunt and frequente those theatres and places where enterludes are, and especially women and maydes.

Age. You haue collected the meaning of my sayings, (nay rather of the father's sayings) truly. You may see dayly what multitudes are gathered together at those

playes, of all sortes, to the greate displeasure of Almightie God, and daunger of their soules, &c; for they learne nothing thereby, but that which is fleshye and carnall : which Diogenes sawe and well perceyued, as appeared by his doings, when as vpon a certaine day he thrust himselfe into the theatre, or playing place, when as the people were comming forth. Being demaunded why he did so? answered, bicause (sayth he) I will differ from the multitude, for the greatest part of men are ledde rather by affections, and reasons, &c. I wote not what precepts may be giuen our people, for our custome now is worse than it was amongst the Pagans. Therefore, let the people, and especially women, giue eare to Pagan Ouid, if not to Christian preceptes, speaking of those Ouid common resortings vnto playes, sayth :—

They come to see, and eke for to be seene,

Full much chastitie quailed thereby hath beene.

Iuuenal the poet sayeth also, that no wiues or maydens, that list to content or please sad and honest men, will be founde and seene at common playes, dauncings, and other great resorte of people; for these playes be the instruments, and armour of Venus and Cupidē, and, to saye good soothe, what safegarde of charitie can there be, where the woman is desired with so many eyes, where so many faces looke vpon hir, and againe she vppon so manye? She must needes fire some, and hir selfe also fired againe, and she be not a stone; for what minde can be pure and whole among such a rabblement, and not spotted with any lust? According to the olde prouerbe, *ex visu amor*; and, as Virgill sayth, *at vidi vt perii*, &c. Saint Cyprian persuadeth his frende Eucratius mightily to leaue off, and not practise, nor teach, such playes and enterludes, shewing what inconueniences and wickednesse is gotten thereby, and what lust and concupiscence is

Iuuenal, lib.
Satyr

Lodov. Viues

Cypria, lib. 1
Epist. 10, and
lib. 2, Epist. 2

stirred vp thereby in beholding of it, and what filthie and foule actes are done of whoredome and baudrie, to the hurte of the beholders, adding this: *Histrionicis gestibus inquinatur omnia*; by the gestures of enterlude players all honestie is defiled and defaced. Reade those places of S. Cyprian, which he wrote of purpose against playes, for the inconueniences that he sawe, and hearde to come thereof. O, Lorde! what woulde he say and write of our playes now, if he were aliuie, and sawe their order in these dayes?

For these causes was it, that the godly fathers wrote so earnestly against such playes and enterludes, and also commaunded by counsels that none shoulde go or come to playes: as in the third council of Carthage, and in the synode of Laodicea, it was decreed that no Christians (and especially priests) shoulde come into any place where enterludes and playes are, for that Christians must abstain from such places where blasphemie is commonly vsed. Chrisostome calleth those places, and playing of enterludes, *festa Satanae*, Sathan's banquets. Saluianus doth bitterly reprehend those men and women, that will not abstaine from going to such vaine enterludes and playes, saying: *Spernitur Dei templum, vt concurratur ad theatrum: ecclesiae vacuatur, circus impletur: Christum in altario dimittimus, vt adulterantes visu impurissimo oculos ludicorum turpium fornicatione pascamus*. He despiseth the temple of God, that he may runne to the theatre: the churche is alwaye emptie and voyde, the playing place is replenished and full: we leaue Christ alone at the aultar, and feede our eyes with vaine and vn honest sights, and with filthie and uncleane playes. And a little after, he declareth what innumerable vices there groweth by those playes, and what sinnes are committed against God and his lawes, &c. Also, Olym-

Conc. 3, Carthag. cap. 11
Syno. Laodi.
an. 368
can. 54

Chrysost. ho. 31, in Iob. 4
Saluianus in li. de prouid.
Dei, pag. 36

Olympiodor.
in Ecclesiast.
cap. 4

piodorus sayth (to all Christians, men and women in

generall) Abstaine from prophane spectacles and enterludes ; for it is not meete that we shoulde go with those feete vnto playes, enterludes, and abhominable spectacles, wherewith wee vse to go into the temple of God ; for they that will go with cleane vnpolluted feete into the church of God, must vtterly altogether abstaine from vngodly and prophane places, as these are.

Youth. Notwithstanding all this that you haue alledged out of the fathers and counsellés, I suppose a man or woman doth not sinne to beholde and lust one for another, except they commit carnal copulation together.

Age. My sonne, howe doest thou reade or heare the worde of Christ in the gospel, y^t sayth, He that looketh on a woman, and desireth to haue hir, he hath committed adulterie alredie in his heart, &c. And surely they are Math. 5, 28

not spirituall, but carnall, which do not beleue that they have a spring of vngraciousnesse within them, and force Rom. 6, 23

not what the mynde be, but the bodie. I dare boldlye say, that fewe men or women come from playes, and resortes of men, with safe and chaste mindes. Therefore, 1 Thes. 5, 23

Augustus Cesar gaue commandement that no woman should come to see wrastlers and players. The Massyliens (as Valerius sayth) kept so great grauitie, that it would receyue into it no stage players, bicause the arguments (for the moste part) containned the actes and doings of harlots, to the ende that the custome of beholding such things might not also cause a licence of following it ; and therefore, to exercise this arte is not onely a dishonest and wicked occupation, but also to beholde it, and therein to delite is a shamefull thing, because that the delite of a wanton mynde is an offence, &c. Alas, my sonne ! notwithstanding all this, are not

Henricus Cornelius Agrippa de Van. Scient. cap. 20

almost all places in these our days replenished with Alanus

iuglers, scoffers, ieasters, and players, which maye saye Rom. 1, 31
and doe what they lyst, be it neuer so filthilye and flesh-

lye, and yet are suffered, and hearde with laughing and clapping of handes. Lactantius saith, *Histrionum quoque impudicissimi motus, quid aliud nisi libidines docent et instigant?* those filthie and vn honest gestures and mouings of enterlude players, what other thing doe they teache than wanton pleasure and stirring of fleshly lusters, vnlawfull appetites and desires, with their bawdie and filthie sayings and counterfeyt doings? Saint Paule, therefore, biddeth vs to abstaine from all appearance of euill, &c.

Lacta. Firm.
lib. 6, cap. 20

Cypr. lib. 1
Epist. 2

1 Thes. 5, 22

Youth. I maruayle why you do speake against such enterludes and places for playes, seeing that many times they play histories out of the scriptures.

Age. Assuredly that is very euill so to doe; to mingle scurrilitie with diuinitie, that is to eate meate with vn-washed hands. Theopompus intermingled a portion of Moses' lawe with his writings, for the whiche God strake him madde: Theodectes began the same practise, and was stricken starke blind; and will God suffer them vn-punished, that with impure and wicked maners and doings doe use, and handle upon scaffoldes God's diuine mysteries with such vnreuerentnesse and irreligiousnesse?

2 Cor. 5, 14

Jame. 3, 10

What fellowship hath righteousnesse with vnrighteousnes? What communion hath light with darknesse? Out of one mouth (sayeth Saint James) proceedeth blessing and cursing: those things ought not to be. S. Augustine sayth, It is better that spirituall things be vtterlye omitted, than vnworthilye, and vnreuerently handled and touched. O! what rashnesse and madnesse is that (sayth Bernarde) to handle the worde of God with polluted handes, and to vtter and speake it with a filthie mouth, mingled with filthie speaches and wordes!

And by the long suffering and permitting of these vaine plays, it hath stricken such a blinde zeale into the heartes of the people, that they shame not to say, and

affirme openly, that playes are as good as sermons, and
 that they learne as much or more at a playe, than they
 doe at God's worde preached. God be mercifull to this
 realme of Englande, for we begynne to haue ytching
 eares, and lothe that heauenly manna, as appeareth by
 their slow and negligent comming vnto sermons, and
 running so fast, and so many, continually vnto playes,
 &c. Ouid was banished by Augustus into Pontus (as it
 is thought) for making the book of the Craft of Love.
 Hiero Syracusanus did punishe Epicharmus, the poet, bi-
 cause he rehearsed certaine wanton verses in the presence
 of his wife; for he woulde not haue onely in his house
 chaste bodies, but also chaste eares. Why, then, shoulde
 not Christians abolishe, and punishe suche filthie players
 of enterludes, whose mouthes are full of filthinesse and
 wickednesse? Saint Paule willed the Ephesians, that
 fornication and all vncleannesse should not once be named
 among them: neyther filthinesse, neyther foolishe talk-
 ing, neyther ieasting, which are things not comely, but
 rather giuing of thankes. He sheweth the reason to the
 Corinthians why they shoulde so abstayne: Bicause euill
 speakings corrupt good maners (sayth he). Again:
 Come out from among them, and let us separte our-
 selues, and touche no vncleane thing, and then the Lorde
 will receyue us, and abide with vs; for (sayth he) the
 grace of God, that bringeth saluation vnto all men, hath
 appeared, and teacheth vs that we should deny vngod-
 lynesse and worldly lusts, and that we should live so-
 berly, righteously, and godlily in this present worlde,
 looking for the blessed hope, and appearing of the glorie
 of the mightie God, and of our Sauour Iesus Christ.

Youth. Now I perceyue it is not good, nor godly haunting of such places.

Age. It is truth. For, as the preacher sayth, It is better to go vnto the house of mourning, than to the house

1 Tim. 4,

Num. 11, 4,
5, 6, 7Hiero Syracu-
sanus

Ephes. 5, 4

5

2 Cor. 15, 23

2 Cor. 6, 17

Tit. 2, 11, 12

13

of feasting, &c. for the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, but the heart of fooles is in the house of myrth: and therefore it is better (sayth Salomon) to heare the rebuke of a wise man, than that a man shoulde heare the songs of fooles.

Youth. Truly, I see many of great countenance, both men and women, resort thither.

Age. The more is the pittie, and greater is their shame and payne, if they repent not and leaue it off. Many can tarie at a vayne playe two or three houres, when as they will not abide scarce one houre at a sermon. They will runne to euerye playe, but scarce will come to a preached sermon; so much and so great is our follye to delyte in vanitie and leaue veritie, to seeke for the meate that shall perishe, and passe not for the foode that they shall liue by for ever. These people, sayeth Job, haue their houses peaceable without feare, and the rod of God is

Job, 21, 10, not vpon them; they send forth their children like sheepe,
 11, and their sonnes daunce; they take the tabret and
 12, harpe, and reioyce in the sounde of instruments; they
 13, spend their dayes in welth, and sodenly they go down to
 14, the graue; they say vnto God, depart from vs, for we
 15, desire not the knowledge of thy wayes: who is the Almightye, that we should serue him, and what profite shoulde wee haue if we should pray to him? Therefore, I speake (alas! with grieve and sorowe of heart) against those people that are so fleshlye ledde, to see what rewarde there is giuen to such crocodiles, whiche deuoure the pure chastitie bothe of single and married persons, men and women, when as in their playes you shall learne all things that appertayne to craft, mischief, deceytes, and filthinesse, &c. If you will learne howe to bee false and deceyue your husbandes, or husbandes their wyues, howe to playe the harlottes, to obtayne one's loue, howe to rauishe, howe to beguyle, howe to betraye, to flatter,

lye, sweare, forswear, howe to allure to whoredome, howe to murther, howe to poyson, howe to disobey and rebell against princes, to consume treasures prodigally, to mooue to lustes, to ransacke and spoyle cities and townes, to bee ydle, to blaspheme, to sing filthie songs of loue, to speake filthily, to be prowde, howe to mocke, scoffe, and deryde any nation, lyke vnto Genesius Aralaten-
 &c. shall not you learne, then, at such enter-
 ludes howe to practise them : as Palingenius sayth,

*Index est animi sermo morumque fidelis
 Haud dubie testis.*

The tongue hath oftentimes witnesse brought
 Of that which heart within hath thought ;
 And maners hidde in secret place
 It doth disclose, and oft disgrace.

Genesius
 Aralaten-
 patria was a
 common ieas-
 ter and player
 to Domitian,
 the emperor,
 which did
 mocke and
 scoffe most fil-
 thily with his
 jestures the
 godly Chris-
 tians, &c.

Therefore, great reason it is that women (especialle) should absent themselves from such playes. What was the cause why Dina was rauished? was it not hir curiositie? The mayden would go forth, and vnderstande the maners of other folkes. Curiositie, then, no doubt, did hurt hir, and will alwayes hurt women ; for if it were hurtfull vnto the familie of Jacob (being so great a patriarch) for a mayden to wander abroade, howe much more daungerous is it for other families, which are not so holy nor acceptable vnto God? But the nature of women is much infected with this vice ; and therefore Saint Paule admonisheth women to loue their husbands, to bring vp their children, and to be byders and tariers at home. And when he entreateth of wanton and yong widowes, they wander abroade (sayth he) and runne from house to house, and at the last go after Satan. Giue the water no passage ; no, not a little (sayth Syrach) ; neyther giue a wanton woman libertie to go

Gene. 84, 1

Titus, 2, 4

Ephes. 5, 23

Timo. 5, 13

Eccl. 25, 27

- Math. 7, 16 out abroade. If thy daughter be not shamefast, holde hir straitly, least she abuse hir selfe thorow ouermuch libertie. As men cannot gather grapes of thorns and figges of thistles, neyther can any man or woman gather any vertue or honestie in haunting places where enterludes are. As one vertue bringeth in another, so one vice nourisheth another : pryde ingendreth enuie, and ydlenesse is an entraunce into lust. Idlenesse is the mistresse of wanton appetites, and fortress of lust's gate ; for no man entreth into the pallace of lust, vnlesse he be first let in by idlenesse, and more idlenesse can there not bee, than where such playes and enterludes are.
- Math. 6, 22 Therefore, as Christ sayth, The light of the bodie is the eye ; if, then, the eye be single, thy whole bodie shall be light ; but if thine eye bee wicked, then all thy bodie shall be darke, &c. As if he would saye, If thine affections and wicked concupiscence ouercome reason, it is no maruell though men be blinded and be lyke vnto beastes, and folowe all carnall pleasures. To take away this darkenesse and blindenesse, the Athenians provided well when they appoynted their Areopagites to write no comedie or play, for that they woulde auoyde all euils that might ensue thereof, &c Theodosius likewise did by expresse lawes decree, that daunces and wanton daliance shoulde not be vsed, neyther games or enterludes. Constantinus the emperour made lawes, wherein he did vtterly forbidde all spectacles among the Romanes, for the greate discommoditie that came thereof.
- Athenians
- Theodosius
- Constantium centur. 4, cap. 3, fo. 76
- Cypria. lib. i. Epis. 10 Saint Cyprian sayth, it is not ynough for his frende Eucratijs to abstayne from such enterlude playes himselfe, but also he must not teach others nor encourage them thereto. S. Ambrose sayth, that all such playes (though they seeme pleasant and full of sport) must vtterly be abolished, bicause no such playes are mentioned, nor expressed in holy scripture. S. Augustine
- Ambr. lib. i. offic. cap. 23

sayth that such enterludes and playes are filthie spectacles; for when the heathen did appoint and ordeyne (sayth he) playes and enterludes to their gods for the auoyding of the pestilence of their bodies, your bishops, for the auoyding of the pestilence of your soules, hath forbidden and prohibited those kynde of scenicall and enterlude playes. Thus you may perceyue and vnderstande, howe those playes haue bene thought off among the good and godly fathers aforetime, which instructe vs thereby to hate and detest the like now in this latter time practised.

Youth. Is there no lawes, or decrees, that haue bene made against such players of enterludes, sith they are so noysome a pestilence to infect a common wealth?

Age. Very many lawes, and decrees.

Youth. I pray you, expresse some of them, for the better satisfying of my minde herein.

Age. I will so doe, God willing. It was decreed vnder Constantinus, the emperour, that all players of enterludes shoulde be excluded from the Lorde's table.

Johannes de Burgo, sometime chauncelour of Cambridge, and a doctor of diuinitie, in his book entituled, *Pupilla Oculi*, sayeth, That *Histriones*, enterlude players, *non sunt ad ordines promouendi*, are not to be promoted to any dignitie: the reason is, (sayth he,) *Quia sunt infames*, for that those players are infamous persons.

He noteth further howe they are knowen: *Hoc intellige de his qui his qui publicè coram populo faciunt aspectum, siue ludibrium sui corporis, exercendo opus illud*: understande this of those players which vsed to make shewes openly before the people, or else in vsing their bodies to this businesse, as to make sport to be laughed at. In another place he sayth: *Histrionibus, magicis, scenicis, et alijs infamibus notorijs et manifestis, non est eucharistia conferenda, quia tales vitam ducunt illicitam*: the

August lib. i.
cap. 32, de ciuitate dei.

Conc. Arelatensis, 2, 20.

Ioh. de Burg.
in pupilla oculi, 7 partis,
cap. 5. o.
Distinct. 33,
cap. maritum.

Pupilla oculi
partis, cap. 8,
Distinct. 86,
Cap. Donaré.

sacrament of thanksgiuing ought not to be ministered vnto stage-players of enterludes, or to witches, sorcerers, or to any suche infamous and notorious wicked persons, for that they lead a lewde and vngodly lyfe. In the decrees, it is so decreed, that all enterlude players, and comedie players, heretikes, Jewes, and pagans, are infamous persons, and ought to be taken as no accusers of any, nor yet to be produced as witnesses in any matter or cause before any judge: if they bee, the law is, that the partie may lawfully except against them, and say, they are infamous persons, for that they are players of enterludes. And this may you doe also against common minstrels. S. Augustine sayth also, that those enterlude players are infamous persons. Cornelius Agrippa sayeth: There was in times past no name more infamous than stage-players; and all they that hadde played an enterlude in the theatre were by the lawes depriued from all honoure and dignitie. Also there is a notable statute made againste vagabondes, roges, &c., wherein is expressed what they are that shall bee taken and accounted for roges; amongst all the whole rablement, common players in enterludes are to be taken for roges, and punishment is appointed for them to bee burnte through the eare with an hote yron of an ynche compasse; and for the second fault, to be hanged as a felon, &c. The reason is, for that their trade is such an ydle loytering life, a practise to all mischief, as you hauehearde before.

Youth. If they leaue this life, and become good true labourers of the common wealth, to gette their owne liuings with their owne handes, in the sweate of their face, shall they not be admitted and taken againe to the Lorde's table, and afterwarde to be reputed and taken for honest men?

Age. Yes, trulye: and therefore in the third councill

Summa Angelica.

Causa 4, quest. 1 ca. 1. Distinct. 2, de consecr. cap. pro delectione.

De his qui, no. infra, l. ij. aig. præter vlt.

Aug. lib. 1, 2, cap. 14, de ciuitate dei. H. Cornelius Agrippa de vanit. scient. cap. 20.

An. Elizab. 14, cap. 5.

of Carthage, it is put downe in these words: *Scenicis, atque histrionibus, cæterisque personis hujusmodi, vel Apostatis, conuersis ad Dominum, gratia vel reconciliatio non negetur*; to players of enterludes and comedies, and other such lyke infamous persons, and apostates, conuerting and returning to the Lorde, (by repentance) grace and reconciliation is not to be denied. And this is according to the saying of the prophete Ezechiell: If the wicked will returne from all his sinnes that he hath committed, and kepe all my statutes, and doe that which is lawfull and right, he shall surely liue and not dye, &c.

Concilium 3.
Carthagine.
cap. 35.
De consecra.
Dist. 2, cap.
scenicis atque
histrionibus.

Ezek. 18, 24.

Youth. I pray you, shewe mee from whence those kinde of playes had their beginning, and who deuised them.

Age. Chrysostome sayth, the deuill founde oute stage-playes first, and were inuented by his crafte and policie; for that they conteyne the wicked actes and whoredomes of the goddes, whereby the consciences of goodly men are grieuously wounded, and wicked lustes are many wayes stirred vp; and therefore the diuell builded stages in cities.

Chrisost. in
Mat. hom. 6.

Arnobius sayeth: The heathens supposed to haue pleased and pacified their gods from their wrath and displeasure, when as they dedicated to them the sounds of instruments and shalmes, &c. stage-playes and enterludes. Saynt Augustine sayth: The heathen did appoint playes and enterludes to their gods for the auoyding of pestilent infections, &c. Theophylus sayth: *Gentiles suos dies habebant quibus publica spectacula, &c., religiosa, &c.*; the Gentyles had their certain dayes appointed for open spectacles and shewes, &c., which they dedicated religiously vnto their gods. Clemens and others say: *Diabolus sit author Gentilium superstitionum*; that the Deuil is the author of the Gentiles' super-

Arnobius, lib.
7

August. lib.
1, cap. 32, de
ciuitate dei.
Theoph. lib.
3, contra Au-
tolicum.

Clem. in ora-
tione ad gen.

Theoph. lib. 2, cont. Autol. Tatianus in orati. contra Græcos. Pol. Virgil. de rerum inuent. lib. 3, cap. 3. fo. Ravisii Textoris officin, fo. 906.

stitutions. For these causes and many other, sayth Theophilus, Christians were forbidden to vse any such like playes, &c. If you will know more thereof, I will refer you vnto Polydore Virgil, and also vnto John Textor, where you shall fully see the original of all these playes, &c.

Youth. I maruaile much, (this being as you say) that these playes and enterludes are tollerated and suffred now a dayes in a commonwealth, being so euill of itselfe, and hauing so euill patrons.

Age. It is much to be maruailed at in dede, my sonne; for where God's gospell is preached and taught, such vaine, ydle, and filthy pastimes and myrthes should surcease, and be banished far away from Christians, from whence it came. Beatus Rhenanus sayth: *Non solum temperandum fuit, quæ manifestam præ se ferrent impietatem, sed etiam, &c.* it was meete for them to re-frayne, not only from such things as haue a manifest shew of wickednesse, but also from such things as might be called indifferent; partly, least any of the weaker christians shoulde be corrupted; partly, also, least the heathens shoulde be encouraged in their errors, thinking that thing, for that the christians themselues do it, to be the better. Tertullian sayth also, *De hoc primo consistam, &c.*—herein will I first stande, whether it be lawfull for the seruant of God to communicate with whole nations in such things, either in apparell, or in diet, or in anye other kynde of their pastimes and myrth. Saint Basill sayth: Let ydlenesse and superfluous things be put to silence where God's church is. What meaneth this (sayth Saint Origen), leaue hir no maner of remnant? The meaning is this: Abolishe not certaine of the superstitions of the Chaldes, reseruing certaine: therefore, he commandeth that nothing be left in hir, be it neuer so little. Therefore Augustine sayth, that his mother left bringing of wine and cakes to the church,

B. Rhenanus in librum de corona milit

Tertul. de idolaria

Basil. de natali Christi

Origen in Iere. hom. 3

August. confess. li. 6, ca 2

for that she was warned, it was a resemblance of the superstition of the heathen. Tertullian reasoneth vehemently, that a christian man ought not to go with a laurell garland vpon his heade, and that for none other cause, but onely that the heathens vsed so to go, &c. How much more should we leaue off to imitate those filthie playes and enterludes that came from the heathens, nay, from the deuill himselfe. But, as one sayth: *Dolosi hominis, dolosæ vestis*—craftie man, craftie coate. These players, as Seneca sayth, *malunt personam habere quam faciem*—They will rather weare a visarde than a naturall face: and therefore Saint Cyprian vehemently inueygheth againste those which, contrarie to nature and the lawe, doe attire themselues, being men, in women's apparell, and women in menne's apparell, with swannes' feathers in their heads, silkes, and golden apparell, &c.; shewing forth in their playes very Venus it self, as if they were fully in the kingdome of Sathan, &c.

Tertul. de
coron. militis

Le. 18, 3, 30

Macrobius

Seneca

Cypria. lib. 1
Epist. 10
Lib. 2, Epist. 2

Deu. 22, 5

Youth. You haue, in my iudgement, paynted oute those things to the full, and opened such matters by the effectes, as will lothe any honest man or good woman to come neare such playes.

Age. Nay, truly, I haue giuen but an ynkling hereof, than opened the particular secrets of the matter.

Youth. The publishing and opening of the filthie matters is sufficient to proue, that they ought to be ouerthrowne and put downe.

Age. You say truth.

Youth. Yet I see little sayd, and lesse done vnto them; great resort there is daily vnto them, and thereout sucke they no small aduantage.

Age. They are like vnto the citizens of Sybaris, whiche were in all kinde of sentualitie delicious, farre passing all other, for they vsed commonly to bidde their guesstes a whole yeare before, that neither the bidder

B. Alanus

might lacke time to prepare all dainties and delitious fare, and costly furniture, nor the guests to adorne and trimme themselues vp with golde, &c. So they vse to set vp their billes vpon postes certain dayes before, to admonishe the people to make their resort vnto their theatres, that they may thereby be the better furnished, and the people prepared to fill their purses with their treasures, that they may sing which Horace sayth—

Hor. lib. 1
Epist.

Nowe are the braue and golden dayes,
Nowe fame with play we gayne,
And golde can shewe vs many wayes
Men's fauour to attaine :
For mony they heare the musicke sweete,
And playes they buye with golde ;
We seeke for golde, and straight vnmeete
Our name by it is solde.

Therefore of them Boetius sayth :

Boetius

Howe they doe get fewe folkes doe care,
but riches haue they must ;
By hooke or crooke we daily see
they drawe men to their lust.
No faith nor feare of God haue they,
which doe those playes pursue ;
Their hands are giuen to sell and spoyle
their gaine they call their due.

Youth. I doe now well perceiue the wickednesse hereof, by that I haue hearde of you, out of ancient authorities, counsels, lawes, and decrees ; and I would to God such lawes were nowe executed vpon such things, which are occasions and loaden stones to draw people to wickednesse. I maruaile the magistrates suffer them thus to continue, and to haue houses builded for such exercises, and purposes which offend God so highly, sithe

it came from the heathen, Sathan being the author, as you haue proued. For my part, I shall henceforth (Jesus Christ willing) absent myself from such places and theatres, and shall prouoke others to doe the like also, &c. Yet I maruaile much, sithe the rulers are not onely negligent and slowe herein to doe, but the preachers are as dumme to speake and saye in a pulpitte againste it.

Age. I doubt not but God will so moue the hearts of magistrates, and loose the tongue of the preachers in such godly sort (by the good deuout prayers of the faithfull) that both with the sworde and the worde such vnfruitfull and barren trees shall be cut downe, to God's great glorie, comfort, and safetie of his people, and encrease of vertue and Christianity, which God graunt for his Christ Jesus sake. August in
Psalm, 8

Youth. Amen, amen, good Lorde.

Age. Nowe that you are resolued in this poynt, according vnto your request and desire, let this surface at this time, as touching this matter, and let vs go forward to reason of some other matter.

Youth. Before we reason of anye other matter, lette me vnderstande your iudgement respecting comedies and suche lyke things, whiche schollars doe many times practise and vse, both in the Universities, and also in diuerse other good schooles.

Age. Saint Cyprian, wryting vnto his friend Euagrius in a certaine epistle, sayth that he is *Doctor, non eruditorum, sed perdendorum puerorum*, &c. a teacher, not of learning, but of destroying children, which practise them in these enterlude and stage playes; for (sayth he) *Quod male didicit, cæteris quoque insinuat*, that euill which he hath learned, he doth also communicate vnto others, &c. Notwithstanding, you shall vnderstand y^t S. Cyprian speaketh of him that did teach and practise Cypr. Epis.
10, lib. 1

onely this kinde of vaine pastimes and playes, and did allure children vp therein. But, to shoue you my minde plainlye, I thinke it is lawefull for a schoolmaster to practise his schollers to playe comedies, obseruing these and the like cautions: first, that those comedies which they shall play be not mixt with anye ribaudrie and
 1 Cor. 15, 33 filthie termes and wordes (which corrupt good manners). Secondly, that it be for learning and vtterance sake, in Latine, and very seldome in Englishe. Thirdly, that they vse not to play commonly and often, but verye rare and seldome. Fourthly, that they be not pranked and decked vp in gorgious and sumptious apparell in their play. Fiftly, that it be not made a common exercise, publickly, for profit and gaine of money, but for learning and exercise sake. And lastly, that their comedies be not mixte with vaine and wanton toyes of loue. These being obserued, I iudge it tollerable for schollers.

Youth. What difference is there, I pray you, betweene a tragedie and a comedie?

Age. There is this difference: a tragedie, properly, is that kinde of playe in the which calamities and miserable ends of kings, princes, and great rulers, are described and set forth, and it hath for the most part a sadde and heauy beginning and ending. A comedie hath in it humble and private persons; it beginneth with turbulent and troublesome matters, but it hath a merie ende.

AN INUECTIVE AGAINST DICE- PLAYING.

Sith you haue instructed me so well against ydlenesse and vaine pastimes and playes, I pray you instruct me further also, as touching other playes (especially of one

kinde of playe) which is commonly vsed of most people in this land, whether it be euill or good to be vsed.

Age. According vnto my simple talent, I shall be ready to imploye it in what I may for your better instruction ; and therefore declare vnto me, among all, what playe that is which you meane, which you say is so much practised now a dayes amongst all sorts and degrees.

Youth. If you will giue me a walke or two about the fields, I will declare the whole matter of the play, for I woulde gladly heare your iudgement of it.

Age. I will go with you willingly, and heare your talke gladly ; and wherein I may do you any good, I shall be readie (the Lorde willing) to satisfie your request, whiche is my desire.

Youth. Sir, I yeelde you humble dutie for this your so great and vnderdeserued curtesie. Come on ; leade you the waye, good father, I beseech you, for reuerence is due vnto the aged ; as Moses sayth, Rise vp before the hore heade, and honor the person of the aged. Leui. 19, 32
Pro. 20, 29

Age. The honorable age (sayeth Salomon) is not that which is of long time, neither that which is measured by the number of yeares ; but wisdom (sayth he) is the gray heare, and an undefiled life is the old age. Nowe, my sonne, say on, in God's name, what you haue to say. Wis. 4, 8

Youth. In our former communication betweene vs, you haue spoken against vaine playes and ydle pastimes ; yet you allowed of certaine moderate and actiue pastimes, for exercise and recreation's sake.

Age. It is very true, I graunted it ; and doe allowe of them, so farre forth as they are vsed to that ende wherefore they were appointed.

Youth. I pray you let me vnderstande what those playes are which you allowe off, and also of those which you allowe not off.

Age. Before I speake of them, it shall be good

to distribute and deuide playes into their formes and kindes.

Youth. I pray you doe so.

Age. I must herein make two exceptions : first is, that by this my speach I meane not to condemne such publicke games or prices, as are appointed by the magistrate : secondly, that such games as may benefite (if neede require) the common wealth are tollerable.

Youth. I pray you, let me heare your diuision of playes in their kindes.

Age. There are some kinde of playes which are vtterly referred vnto chaunce, as he whiche casteth moste, or casteth thys chaunce, or that (at dice) carrieth away the rewarde. There are other, wherby the powers either of the body or minde are exercised.

Youth. I pray you, speake first of those playes which are for the exercise of the bodie and minde.

Age. Those playes which are for the exercise eyther of the powers of mynde or bodie are not vtterly forbidden. Iustinian, when he had vtterly taken away playes that depended of chaunce (at dice) ordeyned certaine kinde of playes, as throwing a round ball into the aire, (which play is at this day much vsed among my cuntrymen of Devonshire) handling or tossing the pyke or staffe, running at a marke, or such like, &c. Aristotle in his Rhetorikes commendeth these exercises of the bodie: so we see at this daye, publike wealthes do sometimes set forth, vnto such as can best vse weapons, a reward or price, to the ende they may haue the people the better encouraged and exercised, alwayes taking heede that those playes be not hurtfull or pernicious, and that it be not dangerous, either to themselues or to the beholders, as are the turneys, and such like, &c. such kinde of playes are forbidden. *Ad legem Aquilian* in the lawe, *Nam Ludus*, and in the Decretals, it is also expressed *De Tornementis*.

Iustinian

Decret. lib. 5,
in glos. cap.
Ludos

Youth. What other playes are there which are tolerable ?

Age. That whiche was vsed of olde time.

Youth. What playes were that, I beseech you ?

Age. To labour with poyses of leade, or other metall, called in Latine *Alteres*: lifting and throwing of the stone, barre, or bowle, with hande or foote; casting of the darte, wrastling, shooting in long bowes, crossebowes, hand-gunnes; ryding, trayning vp men in the knowledge of martiall and warrelike affaires and exercises, knowledge to handle weapons, to leap and vault; running, swimming, barriers, running of hoses at the tilt, or otherwise, which are called in Latine *Luda, Discus, Cursus, siue Saltus, Cestus, Certamen Equestre vel Currule*. All which playes are recited partly by Homer, partly by Virgil, and partly by Pausanias, &c.

Hom. lib. 8
Virgil, lib. 5
Eneid

Youth. What say you by hauking, hunting, and playing at tennice ?

Age. These exercises are good, and haue bene vsed in ancient times, as we may reade in Genesis. Cicero saith: *Suppeditant autem et campus noster, et studia venandi, honesti exempla ludendi*. The fieldes, (sayth he) hunting of beastes and such other, doe minister vnto vs goodly occasions of passing the time; yet he addeth thereunto this saying: *Ludendi est quidem modus retinendus*; a measure ought to be kept in pastime. For in these dayes many gentlemen will doe (almost) nothing else, or, at the least, can doe that better than any other thing. And this is the cause why there are found so many rawe captaines and soldiers in Englande among our gentlemen, when time of seruice requireth. And also it is the cause of so many vlearned gentlemen as there are. For they suppose, that it is no part belonging to their calling for to heare sermons, pray, and studie for learning, nor to be exercised in heroical actes, and

Genesis, 27, 5
Cicero

martiall affaires, but onely to hauke and hunt all day long.

Youth. I haue hearde olde woodmen saye, hee cannot be a gentleman which loueth not a dogge.

Age. If that be true, he cannot be a dogge that loueth not a gentleman. As I doe not hereby condemne all gentlemen, so must I needes (God be praised !) iustifie many which are desirous to heare preaching, to vse praier, study for learning, and exercise martiall affaires, readie to serue at al commandments for iust causes.

Youth. What say you to musicke, and playing vpon instruments ? is not that a good exercise ?

Age. Musicke is very good, if it be lawfully vsed, and not vnlawfully abused, therefore, I thinke good first to declare from whence it had his beginning, and to what end it was instituted : secondly, whether they may be kept in the churches : lastly, what kinds of songs and measures are profitable and healthfull.

Youth. I beseech you let me heare this thoroughly, and I will giue attentiu eare thereunto ; for that some men dispraise it to much, and thinke it vnlawfull, others commend it as much, and thinke nothing so lawfull, and a third sort there are, which make it a thing indifferent.

Age. Two sorts that you speake of are to be reprovved, but the third sort is to be commended.

Youth. I praye you, let me heare your iudgement hereof ; and, first of all, as you promised, of the beginning and institution thereof.

Age. As touching the first : Men of the olde time were accustomed with common vowes to sing certaine solemne ditties, both when they gaue thanks to God, and also when as they would obtaine any thing of him. Wherefore, Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, and Horace, and such like poetes, which vsed the harpe, wrote their hymns for the most part for these vses. Also in the Ro-

man publike wealth, the priests of Mars, which were called Sali, carried shields, and sang their verses through the citie. Furthermore, it was the manner that musicke and verses were had, when the praises of noblemen were celebrated, chiefly at feasts, whereby they whiche stode by might be admonished to imitate their noble actes, and detest such vices which were contrarie to their vertues. Moreouer, they vsed them to recreate the mindes, and to comfort such as were pensieue, heauy and sad for the deade: as Saule being heauie, &c. caused Dauid to play vpon the harpe to refresh him, &c. The vse hereof also we may reade in Mathewe, when as Christ our Sauiour came into the ruler's house to raise vp his deade daughter, the minstrells and people were making a noise (that is, according to their custome) to play and sing, &c. Contrariwise, when any great cause of ioye happened, it was expressed by musicke and songs; as we maye reade many examples hereof in the holy scriptures, as of Moyses sister Miriam, Judith, Jephtah his daughter, &c. Likewise in weddings they were wont to playe musically, and to sing wedding songs. All these things, if they be done moderately, and in due time, are tollerable; for musicke and songs containe three kindes of good things—that is honest, profite, and pleasantnesse. For, although singing of itselfe delighteth the mindes of men, yet, when wordes are ioyned vnto it, which are of a iust number, and bound by certaine feete (as verses are) is much more pleasant. And vndoubtedly poetrie had hereof hir beginning, and cannot be denied but it is an excellent gift of God; yet this ought to bee kept pure and chast among men, because certaine laciuous men haue and doe filthily defile it, applying it to wantonnesse, wicked lusts, and euery filthie thing.

Sali

2 Sa. 16, 23

Mathewe, 9,
23

Exo. 15, 2, 20

Iudg. 11, 34
Iudet. 16, 2

Youth. Why doth musicke so rapte and ravishe men in a maner wholly?

Age. The reason is playne: for there are certaine pleasures which onely fill the outward senses, and there are others also which pertaine only to the mynde or reason; but musick is a delectation so put in the midst, that both by the sweetnesse of the soundes it moueth the senses, and by the artificiousnesse of the number and proportions, it deliteth reason it selfe: and that happeneth then cheifly, when such wordes are added vnto it whose sense is both excellent and learned. Pithagoras opinion was, that they which studied his doctrine should be brought in sleepe with a harpe, and by the accordes thereof also wakened, whereby they might quietly enioy the time both of sleeping and waking. Cicero affirmeth that rockes and wildernesses doe giue a sound, and cruell beasts by singing are assuaged, and made to stand still, as it is reported of the unicorne: when as men will take him, they put a yong mayden into the wilderness, and when the unicorn seeth hir, he standeth still, and when he heareth the mayde sing, and play on an instrument, he commeth to hir and sleepeth harde by hir, and layeth his head vpon hir lap, and so the hunters kill him. I may also speake howe the poets fable, that when the walls of Thebes, the citie, were buylt, the stones of their owne motion came together with the sound of the harpe; and no man is ignorant what the same poets haue written of Arion (who being taken by pirates) playing so melodiously vppon his harpe, the dolphin fish, with the great whales, delyted so much in his musicke, that when as the pirates cast him into the sea, the fishes caried him safely vnto the shore. So haue they fayned of Orpheus; and also who knoweth not howe muche Dauid, here and there in his Psalmes, prayseth bothe musicke and songs.

Pithagoras

Cicero

Psal. 57, 8
 Psal. 43, 4
 Psal. 149, 3
 Psal. 150, 4
 Psal. 33, 2
 Psal. 98, 56

Secondly, we must consider, whether it may be vsed in churches? In the east part, the holy assemblies, euen

from the beginning, vsed singing, which we maye easily vnderstande by the testimonie of Plinie, in his Epistle to Traiane, the emperour ; where he writeth that Christians vsed to sing hymnes before day vnto their Christ, and therefore were called *Antelucanos cætus*, the morning assemblies. And this is not to be ouerslipte, that these wordes were written in that time that John the Euangilist liued, for he was aliue vnto the time of Traian : wherefore if a man shall saye, that in the time of the apostles there was singing in the holy assemblies, he shall not say from the truth. Paule, who was before these times, vnto the Ephesians saith : Be not drunke with wine, wherein is excesse, but be filled with the spirite, speaking vnto your selues in psalmes, and hymnes, and spirituall songs, singing and making melodie to the Lorde in your hearts, giuing thankes alwayes for all things vnto God, euen the father, in the name of Jesus Christ. To the Collossians he sayth : Let the worde of Christe dwell in you plenteously in all wisdome, teaching and admonishing your owne selues in psalms, hymnes, and spirituall songs, singing with a grace in your hearts to the Lorde. To the Corrinthians he sayth : When ye assemble together, according as euery one of you hath a psalme, or hath a doctrine, or hath a tongue, or hath reuelation, or hath interpretation, let all things be done vnto edifying. By which wordes is declared, that singers of songs and psalmes had their place in the church.

But the west churches more lately receiued the manner of singing ; for Augustine testifieth that it happened in the time of Ambrose : for when that holie manne, togither with the people, watched in the church, least hee should haue beene betrayed vnto the Arrians, he brought in singing, to auoyde tediousnesse, and to driue away the time. But as touching the measure and nature of the song whiche ought to bee retained in musicke in the

Plinie

Euseb. lib. 10,
cap. 2Ephe. 5, 18,
19

Collo. 3, 16

1 Cor. 14, 26

August. li. 9,
confess.

Augus. li. 10,
confess. ca. 33

churche these things must bee especially noted. St. Augustine, in his booke of Confession, confesseth, and is also sorie, that hee hadde sometime fallen, because hee had giuen more attentue hede vnto the measures and cordes of musicke, than vnto the wordes which were under them spoken. Which thing hereby he proueth to be sinne, because musicke and singing were brought in for the wordes sake, and not wordes for musicke: and he so repented this his faulte, that hee exceedingly allowed the manner of the churche of Alexandria vsed vnder Athanasius, who commaunded the reader that when hee sang hee should but little alter his voice, so that hee should bee like rather vnto one that readeth, than vnto one that singeth. Howbeit, on the contrarie, when hee considered howe at the beginning of his conuersion he was inwardly moued with these things, in suche sorte, that for the zeale of piety he burste forth into teares, and for this he consented that musicke should bee retayned in the church; but yet in suche manner that hee sayde hee was ready to chaunge his sentence, if a better reason coulde be assigned: and he addeth, that those doe sinne deadlye (as they were wont to speake) whiche giue greater heede vnto musicke, than vnto the wordes of God. Saint Hierome, and also Saint Gregorie say,

Heiron. in
Epist. ad
Ephes.
Dist. 92, cap.
Cantantes,
et in cap.
Sancta Ro-
mana.

*Non vox, sed votum, non cordula musica, sed cor,
Non clamans, sed amans, cantat in aure Dei.*

The voice though it crie neuer so cleare,
The Lorde delights not for to heare;
Nor string of musicke very sweete,
Except the heart conioyne and meete.

Franciscus
Petrarcha de
remedijs vtri-
usque for-
tunæ.

Franciscus Petrarcha declareth, that Athanasius did vtterlye forbid singing to be vsed in the church at ser- uice time, because (sayth he) he woulde put away all

lightnesse and vanitie, which, by the reason of singing, doth oft times arise in the myndes bothe of the singers and hearers. Gregorie also sayth: *Plerumque ut in sacro ministerio dum blanda vox quæritur, congrua vita negligatur*; whyles the sweetnesse of the voyce is sought for in the holie ministerie, the life is neglected. Therefore, sayeth Durandus: *Propter carnales, non propter spirituales cantandi vsus in Ecclesia institutus est*, &c. the vse of singing in the church was ordeyned for carnall men, and not for spirituall minded men.

Distinct. 92
in cap. in
Sancta Ro-
mana

Guilielmus
Durand. li. 2,
rat. di. offic.
cap. de can-
tore.

Youth. Let me heare, then, what is to be done and obserued, to the ende musicke maye lawfully and fruitfully be vsed in the church.

Age. First we must take heede that in musicke bee not put the whole summe and effecte of godlynesse, and of the worshipping of God, which among the papistes they doe almost euery where thinke, that they haue fully worshipped God, when they haue long and much sung and piped. Further, we must take heede that in it be not put merite or remission of sinnes. Thirdly, that singing be not so much vsed and occupied in the church, that there be no time, in a maner, left to preach the worde of God and holye doctrine; whereby it cometh to passe that the people depart out of church full of musicke and harmonie, but yet hungerbaned and fasting, as touching heauenly foode and doctrine. Fourthly, that rich and large stipends be not so appointed for musitians, that eyther very little, or in a maner nothing is provided for the ministers whiche labour in the worde of God. Fifthly, neyther may that broken and quauering musicke be vsed, wherewith the standers by are so letted, that they cannot vnderstande the words, no though they would neuer so faine. Lastly, we must take heede, that in the church nothing be song without choyce, but onely those things which are contayned in the holye scriptures, or which

Pet. Martyr.
in Iudicium.

are by iust reason gathered out of them, and doe exactly agree with the worde of God.

Nowe, to conclude this matter, I saye that godly and religious songs may be retayned in the church. And yet I confesse that there is no precept giuen in the New Testament of that thing. Wherefore, if there be any church, which vpon iust causes vseth it not, the same church cannot iustlye be condemned, so that it defende not, that the thinge itselfe of his owne nature, or by the commaundment of God is vnlawfull; and that it doe not, for the same cause, reprocue other churches, which vse singing and musicke, or else exclude them from the fellowship of Christ. Yet this ought to be considered, that if we shall perceiue that Christian people doe runne unto the churche as to a stage playe, where they may be delighted with pyping and singing (and doe thereby absent themselues from hearing the worde of God preached), in this case we must rather abstaine from a thing not necessarie, than to suffer their pleasures to be cockered with the destruction of their soules.

Youth. What say you of minstrels, that goe and range abroarde, and thrust themselues into euery mannes presence and company, to play some mirth vnto them.

Age. These sort of people are not sufferable, bicause they are loyterers and ydle fellowes; and are, therefore, by the lawes and statutes of this rhealme, forbidden to raunge and roave abroad, counting them in the number of roges, and, to saye truth, they are but defacers of musicke.

Youth. Are there any other good exercises?

Age. Yes, as schollers to make orations, to play good and honest comedies, to play at tennise, and such like, &c. Notwithstanding, in all these exercises that I haue spoken off before, this must I adde for your instruction,

that none of them ought to be a hinderance or let to any man from his duetie towards God's worde.

Youth. Nowe that you haue declared to me what exercises are lawfull for the powers of the minde and bodie, I pray you to shewe mee what that playe is, which you call chaunce, or happe.

Age. These playes that depeinde vpon chaunce are those which we call dice-playe, which kinde of playe is to be eschewed and auoyed of all men. So Cato giueth counsell to all youth, saying : *Trocho lude, aleas fuge* ; playe with the toppe, and flee dice-playing.

Youth. What, meane you to speake against dice-playing, sithe so many honourable, worshipfull, and honest men vse so commonly to play at it?

Age. The persons make it not good, but rather it maketh them the worse ; for it causeth manie of them (oftentimes) to bring a castell into a capcase, a whole manour and lordeshippe into cottage, their fee simple into fee single, with other infinite lyke discommodities, according to the olde verse.

*Diues eram dudum, me fecerunt tria nudum :
Alea, vina, Venus, tribus his sum factus egenus.*

Sometime riche I was,
and had thereof great spare,
But three things hath me made
to go full poore and bare :
Dyce, wine, and venerie
were to me great speede ;
These three did hasten all my woe,
and brought me to great neede.

Yet notwithstanding, although these men that you speake of vse to play at dice, and loue that game so well, yet in no wyse will be called dice-players, or dicers, it is so

odious a name, the reason is, for that it is an odious and wicked play : so the thefe, the queane, the papistes, murderer, &c. will not be called by that name, of that fault and filthie sinne which they vse, bicause they knowe it is most wicked and abhominable.

Youth. This faulte of losing their goods is not to be imputed to the play itselfe, but to them that play.

Age. Yes, sir, it is in the playe also : take away the whore, there will be no whoredome : take away fire, and there will be no burning : take away powder and shotte, none shall bee murthered : take away poyson, none can be poysoned, &c. : take away playe, there will be no playing. This did Marcus Antonius, the emperour, verie well see, who, lying on his death bedde, sayde to his sonne Commodus these wordes : It is a most harde thing, and a difficil matter for a man to kepe measure in libertie (of playes) or to be able to restrayne the brydle of things desired (vnlesse the things themselues be taken away that are desired) for surely we be all made worse, both olde and yong, by reason of this libertie to play at dice, to enioye our owne filthy desires.

Herodian,
lib. 1.

Youth. I praye you, who was the firste deuisour of dyce playing? It appeareth that it hath bene of a long continuance.

Age. There are diuerse opinions hereof. Some saye that it was one Attalus; others suppose it was one Brulla. Polydore Virgill sayeth, that one Lydi deuised this among the Lydians, a people of Asia, of great loue and policie, what time a great famine was among them, that, by passing away the time with this play, they bare out their hunger the better, and their vittailles endured also the longer, &c. Others saye that one Palamedes, being (in an armie of the Greekes against the Troianes) ydle, inuented this dyceplay to pass the time away, and also to saue vittails, &c. But certainly those

Polyd. Virg.
in lib. 2, ca. 8
De inuentio-
ribus rer

Ioh. Rauisius
Textor

that write of the inuention of things, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, the prince of deuilles, to be the first inuentor thereof, and hell (no doubt) was the place where it was firste founded. For what better alectiue coulde Satan deuise, to allure and bring men pleasantly into damnable seruitude, than to purpose to them a forme of play (which is his principall treasure) wherein the more part of sinne and wickednesse is containd, and all goodnesse, vertue, honestie, and godlinesse, cleane confounded.

Youth. I assure you, I neuer hearde before that dice-playing was so wicked as you say.

Age. Publius sayth: *Quanto aleator in arte melior est, tanto nequior est*; as much more cunning the dicer is in that arte, so much the more wicked he is. There cannot be a more playne figure of ydlenesse than dice-playing is. For (besides that there is no manner of exercise of the bodie or minde therein) they vse great and terrible blasphemings and swearings, wicked brawlings and robbings, robbing and stealing, craft, couetousnesse, and deceyte. Oh! why doe we call that a play, which is compact of couetiousnesse, malice, craft, and deceyte?

Youth. What craft, deceite, and robbery can there bee in dice playing? Are not the little dice cast downe vpon the table, that euery man may see them that hath but halfe an eye, and may easily tell euery pricke and poynt vpon them? and therefore I cannot see howe any man should thereby be deceyued. I suppose there is not a more plaine playe, and less deceyte (being alwayes before men's eyes) than is diceplaying.

Age. The blinde eateth many a flie, and seeth it not; for I perceiue that you are (or else you seem to be) ignorant of their skill and doings. If you did vnderstande throughly of their false dice, cogging termes, and orders,

it will make you abhorre, detest, and defie all dice-playing.

Youth. Is there any more to bee considered in this playe, than plainly and simply to play with two dice, and cast them out of our handes vpon the plaine boorde?

Age. Yea, my sonne, much more, both for their craft in casting them, and making them; and also for the sundrie names of their dice, to beguile the simple and ignorant withall.

Youth. I had neuer thought that their coulde be such deceyte in dice playing, or that men had anye cunning or sleight therein to beguile any.

Age. For the obteyning of this skill (of filthie dice-playing) they haue made, it as it were, an arte, and have their peculiar termes for it; and a number of lewde persons haue, and daily doe apply it, as it were grammer, or logicke, or any other good seruice or science, when as they associate together with their harlots and fellowe theeuers.

Youth. What haue dicers to do with harlots and theues?

Age. As much as with their very frends; for they are all of one hall and corporation, and springe all out of one roote, and so tend they all to one ende, ydly to liue by rauine and craft, deuouring the fruites (like caterpillars) of other men's labours and trauailes, craftily to get it into their owne hands as theeuers.

Youth. I pray you, shewe mee the occasion, why men so earnestly are giuen to dice playing?

Age. The first occasion to play is tediousnesse and lothsomnesse of good labours. Secondly, is covetousnesse and greedinesse for other men's mony, which covetousnesse, sayth S. Paul, is the roote of all mischief.

Youth. I perceyue by you, that there groweth greate

and dangerous inconueniences, and mischiefes, by this diceplaying.

Age. You haue sayde truth ; for it is a doore and win-
dowe into all theft, murther, whoredome, swearing, blas-
pheming, banketting, dauncing, rioting, drunkennesse,
pryde, couetousnesse, craft, deceyt, lying, brawling,
fighting, prodigalitie, night-watchings, ydlenesse, beg-
gerie, pouertie, bankrupting, miserie, prisonment, hang-
ing, &c. and what not? Chrisostome sayth, that God
neuer inuented playes, but the deuill ; for the people
sate downe to eate and drinke, and rose vp to play, in
the honour of a most filthie ydoll, for when they had
worshipped the calfe and committed ydolatrie, they
seemed to haue obteyned this rewarde of the deuill,
namely, to play. Saint Ambrose saith also, that playes
and pastimes [are] sweete and pleasant, when as yet they
are contrarie to the rules of Christianity. Sir Thomas
Eliot, knight, sayth to such as are diceplayers : Every
thing (saith he) is to be esteemed after his value ; but who
hearing a man, whom he knoweth not, to be called a
dicer, doth not anon suppose him to be of a light credit,
dissolute, vaine, and remiss? How manye gentlemen,
howe many merchants, &c. haue in this damnable pas-
time (of diceplaying) consumed their substance, as well
by their owne labours as by their parents, with great
studie and painful trauell in a long time acquired, and
finished their liues in debt and penurie? Howe many
goodly and bolde young men (sayth he) hath it brought
to theft, whereby they haue preuented the course of na-
ture, and died, by the order of the lawes, miserably?
These are the fruits, and reuenues, of that wicked mer-
chandice of diceplaying.

Chrisost. in
Mat.
hom. 6

Ambr. lib. 2
de offic. ca.
23

Sir Thomas
Eliot, knight,
in his booke
of the gover-
nour.

Youth. Is it lawfull for any man to play at any game
for money, to wyne it, keepe it, and purse it vp, or no?
I pray you let me knowe your iudgement herein.

Age. I saye, generally, it is not lawfull to play for money, to wynde it, and purse it vp; that is, either to lose his owne, or wynde others, to withholde it as good gaine.

Youth. What reason is there hereof?

Age. The reason is most cleare and plaine: first, that play (whatsoever it be) was not appoynted or permitted as a meane and way to get or winne mony, but onely for exercise of the bodie, or recreation of the minde; so that whosoever vseth it to other ende, maketh it no game, but abuseth, chaungeth, and altereth the nature of the recreation, into a filthie and vnsufferable gayne, and therefore dishonest; which (be they high, bee they lowe) Christians ought to flee and shunne, as Saint Paule sayeth, from filthie lucre. And in the distinctions out of Augustine, it is said: *Hoc autem iure possidetur quod iustè, et hoc iustè quod bene; omne igitur quod malè possidetur, alienum est, &c.* That is rightly possessed, that is rightly gotten, and that is rightly gotten, that is well and truly gotten; therefore, whatsoever is possessed falsely, and naughtily, is another man's and not thine, &c. Tullie sayth also: *Nihil utile est, quod non sit honestum*, nothing is profitable or gaine (to thee) which is not honestly gotten: otherwise it is, *turpe lucrum*, filthie gaines. Furthermore, gaming was neuer allowed as a kinde of bargaining, trafficke, or occupying among men, if we eyther consider God's law or man's. Amongst all the lawes in the world, which haue throughly decided all meanes, howe to get, and justly to possesse, other men's goods, neuer make mention that gaming was a iust meane. The Romane law, whiche we call the ciuile lawe, hath verry largely and diligently determined of it; but, amongst all the honest meanes whereof the ciuile lawe maketh mention, gaming is not mentioned, nor once within the compasse: yet he speak-

1 Tim. 3, 8

August. in
Epist. 54, ad
Macedonium
Distinc. 35,
ca. Episcopus

eth of contractes in sale, of letting to hire, making restitution, and such like, whereby we may iustly haue, and get that which is others; but there is no mention at all made of play, or that wee may thereby wyne or possess any thing: so that whosoever taketh and keepeth the mony of another, which he hath wonne in play, withholdes it without lawfull cause, and therefore against conscience, and, to speak plainly, sheweth himself a flat theefe. If St. Paule forbiddeth vs to vse deceyte in bargaining and selling, what should we doe in gaming? And if this shoulde be suffered, we shall bring in a greedie couetousnesse, in steade of the recreation of the minde, and, to be short, a desire to beguile eche other, in steade of solace and pastime.

To gayne, then, by play, and especially at dice, is as much as to steale and rob, notwithstanding any customs, euill vses, or corruptions of manners. One maister Francis Hotoman, a notable lawier and a christian, confirmeth my sentence and iudgement, and sheweth that by the meaning of the law, that gaine, gotten and pursed vp by play, is forbidden, and to be condemned: and S. Augustine sayth, that the mony should be giuen to the poore that is gotten by play, to the end that the loser shoulde not haue his losse againe, and also that the winner might be disappointed of the hope to haue that which he had so easily gotten. Also it is very reasonable, that, besides this losse, the magistrate should put them both (that play) to a good fine, to be bestowed to common vses: for, I pray you, what reason is there to turne that to couetousnesse, which was appointed for recreation and comfort of man? The poore, which are so many in the churche of God, and so nedye, as all the world seeth so many small children, that are orphans, lacking schooling for want of helpe, and that he whiche counteth himself a Christian and a brother to these

Francis Hotoman in lib. de vsuris, cap. 2

August. in Epist. 54, ad Macedonium

poore, and acknowledgeth them for the members of Iesus Christe, should play away and spende his mony at his pleasure, and shoulde not rather giue it in almes to his brethren, which are, as Esay sayth, his owne fleshe. Alas! howe dearly is that pleasure sometimes bought of vs, and what shame shall we haue before God's aungels for such lauishnesse, yea, before the poore people of God, as it is written in Saint Mathewe. When riche churles shall eate and drinke, and after fall to play, like to that cursed man of whom Saint Luke speaketh of, and in the meane season poore Lazarus, our brethren, shall lye and starue at our doores, on whom the very brute beastes, to their powers, bestowed their almes in licking their sores, and we, that are men of his own likenesse, haue mony to play awaye, and can finde in our heartes to bestowe none on them.

Luc. 16, 9
1 Tim. 6, 17

Prou. 17, 19

August de
verbis. dom.
sermo. 25

Let vs, according to the commandement of God, make frends with our monye, not of such as wyne it of vs by play (for they will neuer conne us thanke for it) but of the poore people of God, which cause it to be restored againe (at that great daye of God's iudgement) with profite and increase. Saint Augustine sayth, *Fœcundus est ager pauperum, cito reddit dominantibus fructum : Dei est pro parvis magno pensare* : profitable is the field of the poore, and yeeldeth fruite very quickly to the owners : it is God's propertie to restore greate things for small things. Saint Augustine, therefore, alloweth not that any christian man should giue his mony to any iugler or stage player, although they shewe vs some pleasure with their paynes ; much lesse doth he allowe vs to giue our mony to a gamester that playeth with vs, to whome we shewe as much pastime as he sheweth vs. Let me then conclude : that which I haue saide is true, that is, that mony gotten, and pursed vp, by play is flat theft, and to gaine by such meanes is plainly to robbe,

and to possesse other men's goodes without iust cause and against conscience; bicause it is playne against the commandment of God, that sayth, Thou shalt not steale. Exo. 20, 15

Notwithstanding, that there bee a consent of the players, yet there is a burning lust and desire of eche other's mony, and to obtaine this their greadie couetous purpose, they vse this wicked and craftie play at dice to deceyue, which is called blinde fortune. For that purpose, Iustiananus, Cod. lib. 3, tit vltimo

the emperour, made a decree, that none should play puplickly or privately in their houses, &c. Thus wee see what gaine and profit by play is gotten, euen as Christ sayth, They that now laugh shall weepe, and they that now haue plentie shall want, &c. Saint Augustine to this sayth, *Quæ est ista rogo animarum insania, amittere vitam, appetere mortem, acquirere aurum, et perdere cælum*: what madnesse is this of men, to loose life, and desire death, to seeke for golde, and loose God!

August de
verbis. dom.
sermo. 25

Youth. They say, they cannot delite in playe, except they play for mony.

Age. I woulde gladly knowe agayne, to what vse they would put that (mony gotten) vnto.

Youth. Peraduenture, they will bestow it vpon some feast, or else vpon the poore people.

Age. But I say still, it is much better and safer not to play for any mony at all, for that (as you haue hearde) it is not lawful. Againe, it may be that you yourselfe are not touched with couetousnesse, but possible the other with whome you playe is touched therewith; 1 Thes. 5, 22

therefore, let the occasions of euill be taken away, which otherwise are very many which moue unto euill: and if there were nothing else to feare them away from this play, yet let them for God's sake weigh this (as I haue said before) howe great the penury and neede is, and what number of pouertie there is euerywhere replenished, that we may say, as S. Jerome sayde, *Nudus atque*

Heiron. ad
Gaudentium

esuriens ante fores nostras Christus in paupere moritur,
Christe, naked and hungrye, lying before our gates,
dieth in the poore. The lawe of God requireth so many
duties, that not our whole life long is able to perfourme
them, and yet will we bestow time in playing at dice?
We are otherwise sufficiently sicke with couetousnesse
of mony, with ambition to ouercome and excell others,
&c., why then do they stirre vp these diseases with
playes?

Youth. They say, this is not stirred vp in them.

Rom. 14, 21
1 Cor. 8, 13
Math. 18, 6
Lucke, 17, 1
Mark, 9, 42

Age. Nowe, they must remember, that they may be
easily stirred vp when they enter once in play: and
they must see, not onely to themselues, but that they
bring not others also vnto the same disease; for they
know their owne mind of strength, yet they know not
others.

Youth. What, and if they will so playe their mony,
are they not lords of their owne things? They say they
doe no wrong to their neighbours; they take away no
other man's goods by violence: what then can be sayd
vnto them?

Hageeus

Age. That is not true; for the prophet sayth in the
person of God, The siluer is mine, and the golde is mine,
sayth the Lorde. For you must note, that God deliuereth
vnto vs his riches and treasure, according to his good
pleasure, as vnto stewardesto vse them, and bestowe
them, as God in his worde commaundeth: and, therefore,
they ought to vnderstande that it is the dutie of the
magistrates to see that euery man vse his owne things
honestly and well. And they ought more deeply to con-
sider, that God gaue them riches and money for foure
special causes and purposes; first, wherewith they might
maintaine preaching of God's worde; secondly, for the
nourishing of themselues and their familie; thirdly, to
pay tributes, taxes, and customes, to the prince, for the

Tobi. 4, 8
Eccle. 29, 11

Psa. 4, 17, 18
Deut. 26, 2
3, 4, 5
Leuit. 27, 32
Gen. 14, 20
Cap. 28, 22
Exo. 22, 29
Leu. 27, 30
Num. 18, 22,
23, 24, 28, 29

better maintenance and defence of their people and countrie; fourthly, to help the poore and needie members of Christ, &c. Those are the ends whereunto riches are giuen vnto vs, and not for to waste it foolishly at dice-playing, and so put it to the slippennesse of fortune. Also it behoueth euery one (especially those that professe the gospell) to represent the image of God, who gouerneth and ruleth all things with reason, mercy, loue, and wisdom: but so to consume their money and goodes at dice and vaine playes is not to be as lordes ouer their owne things, but tyrants and spoilers, and not to vse them with mercy, loue, and wisdom, but with vnmercifulnesse, hatred, and foolishnesse to abuse them. And, on the other part, what thing soeuer is gotten by this kind of diceplay, is *turpe lucrum*, filthie gaine; and that gaine so gotten, shall be a witnesse against them at the last daye of iudgement, if they repent not; and it shall be gaine put in a bottomlesse purse, as the prophet sayth, that is, they shall neuer haue ioy or good thereof: as the poet sayth, *De bonis malè quæsitis, vix gaudebit hæres tertius*; euill gotten goods shall neuer prosper: a penny naughtily gotten, sayth Chrysostome, is like a rotten apple laid among sounde apples, which will rot all the rest. Therefore, we must hold fast, and firmly determine that such playes are very theft and robbery, and, therefore, ought not in any wise to be suffered, for that they are gouerned by chaunce and rashnesse, so that thereby goods and mony are endaungered; and also for that it belongeth to the public welth, to see that those things be rightly gouerned, for God giueth goodes to be spent to good vses, and not vppon vaine fonde abuses.

Youth. These players are honest, substantial, and credible men; and though they playe at dice, yet they giue to the poore neuerthelesse, and paye their dutie to the prince neuer the latter.

Mat. 10, 10
 Luc. 10, 7
 1 Tim. 5, 8
 Pro. 31, 15, 21
 Math. 22, 21
 Rom. 13, 7
 Dent. 24, 19
 Leuit. 19, 9
 Cap. 23, 2
 Psal. 112, 9
 Iob. 4, 7, 8
 Eccle. 4, 12, 3, 4, 5
 Leu. 14, 13
 Cap. 19, 8
 Math. 25, 8
 1 Timo. 9, 18

Habbac. 2. 6,
 11, 22

Haggai, 46

Prou. 21, 17
Eccle. 34, 18

Age. Their credites are much cracked that vse this play, so that they can not beautifie or garnishe it by no policie, but contrarywise, that doth altogither foyle them. And for their giuing to the poore, it doth no more excuse them, than if they robbed a man to giue to the poore. They saye, they giue neuerthelesse: I pray you, doe they giue by that euer a whitte the more? If they doe, yet wee maye not doe euil, that good may come thereof (sayth Saint Paule) whose damnation is iust. Yet, I pray you, let me vnderstand what they giue weekly to the poore.

Youth. Euerye of them giueth according to his habilitie, some a penny, some two pence, another foure pence, and the best commonly giueth but six pence.

Rom. 12, 8
2 Cor. 9, 7
Prou. 11, 25
Eccle. 35, 10

Age. What is this to the purpose, in respect of their playe, whereat they will not sticke to venter, at dice, v^s., x^s., xx^s., yea, x^{li}., xx^{li}. at a cast, and will thereat consume xl^{li}. or an cl^{li}., yea, all that they haue, &c., which is lamentable to heare and see. But whatsoever they giue to the poore, it is done (contrary to the rule of Scriptures) grudgingly, murmuringly, and vnwillingly. Some of them haue lost as much in one houre, nay, in one quarter of an houre (at dice) as they haue giuen to the poore two or three yeares before. Is not this to be corrected and amended by the rulers? If they neglect it, no doubt, God will be reuenged of it, it is so wicked and vngodlye. It is a worlde to heare, and see, what a doe the magistrates haue to make them, and such like, to be contributories to the reliefe of the poore weekly, according to the statutes, &c. What excuses, what allegations, what protestations, what loquations, what persuasions will they vse, who knoweth not? either y^t they that are not able, or that they are fallen behind hand, or y^t they are not so much worth now by a great summe as they haue beene, or that they haue great losses, or that they keep some poore man or

woman, or else some fatherlesse children for almes deede, or else they giue euery daye at their doores to the poore, or that they will giue their almes themselues, or that it is not giuen well, &c., or what not, so they may not giue to the poore. But to giue and put into a boxe for a mummerye, or maske, to play at dice, they will not sticke at tenne pounce, twentie pound, or an hundred pound, so franke and liberall are they to please their owne couetous desire, and vaine pleasure; but to helpe needy of Christ in his members, they are poore, and want mony, but to the furnishing forward of diceplaying, we haue mony and golde plentie; yea, if neede be, their wiues also are allowed their xx^s. xl^s., yea, twentie nobles, to maintaine them to play at dice, supposing that it is a great token (to the worlde) of credite, and a signe of excellent loue betwene that is them, when in dede it is vtterly a discredite to both of them, and a token that they loue not in the Lorde. Thus are we wise (sayth the prophet) to doe Ierem. 4, 22 euill, but to doe well we haue no knowledge.

Youth. They saye, it is written in Ecclesiastes, that wee Eccle. 7, 17 ought not to be too righteous, nor too superstitious; for that were the way to bring in superstition agayne, and to take away Christian libertie.

Age. Saint Paule commaundeth the faithfull, not onely 1 Thes. 5, 22 to forbear from that which is euill of it selfe, but euen from all shewe of euill; but these chaunce and dice players, that I haue spoken of, or any such like, are euill things of themselues, and not alone simple shewes (as you haue hearde before) and, in effect, I would faine knowe, what ouerstrait rigour and seueritie of life we doe enioyne to Christians, if we allow them honestly and moderately to play and sport themselues at all other games, and eyther stand vpon sharpnesse of wit, or wholesome and moderate exercise of the bodie? Saint Chrisostome, Chrysost. in hom. 1 in his homilie of losennesse, in his time answering to like

Rom. 14, 16
1 Cor. 8, 11
1 Co. 10, 23

Eccle. 37, 16

objections, sayth, what when we doe restrayne from the godlie their superstitiues, we meane not to bring them to too great straitnesse of life. To be short, Christian libertie (euen in indifferent things) must be subiect to the politike lawes of the countries, and to the edification of our neighbours; therefore we ought much lesse to take libertie in such hurtfull things: Let reason (sayth Syrach) go before euery enterprise, and counsell before euery action.

Youth. They say, there is no harm if they play at this game without swearing, chafing, or couetousnesse.

Prou. 14, 12
13, 14

Age. If there be many layde downe, it is impossible that they should play without couetousnesse and desire to win, which must needes be unseemly (as I haue declared before) and vtterly unlawfull: and where they say they see no harme, besides the great mischiefes (that is too great) in this dice play (as we haue sayde) this my answer is ready, that the ende of such games sheweth the mischiefes thereof. Therefore, Salomon speaketh very aptly to this matter: There is a waye (sayth he) that seemeth right vnto men, but the end there of is the waye to death; yea, while they laugh, they shall haue heauie hearts, and the end of their ioy is sorrowe; a backslyding heart shall be filled with his owne wayes, but the good man shall depart from him. And so it seemeth that they do but weene, and thinke, that there is no harm in it, being caried awaye with affections; but the triall proueth the harme too, too great, and, therefore, good men can perceiue it.

Youth. They alledge, that there is none but common gamehouses and tabling houses that are condemned, and not the playing sometimes in their owne priuate houses.

Cod. lib. 3
tit. vltimo

Age. That game (which is called *Alea*) is condemned, and not the house alone where the playe is vsually kept; and what allureth vs to customable and ordinarie playe,

but onely the beginning to handle dyce in our owne houses? To say that there is a vertue called curtesie, which in Greeke is called *eutrapelia*, that consisteth in man's sporting and recreating themselues together, I likewise say so, but that vertue alloweth not to playe at such detestable games as this dyce-play is, but onely at honest and lawfull games, as are the chesse, and tennise, &c. or such like; and also to doe that but at conuenient times, and that moderately, without any excesse. To be shorte, there is no vsurie in the worlde so heynous as the gaine gotten by this playe at dyce, when all is gotten with a trice ouer the thumb, without anye traficke or loane. Seing, therefore, that these games are so contrarie to the worde of God, so hurtfull and wicked, and of so daungerous beginning, and mischievous a consequence, we ought vtterlie to forbear and detest them.

Youth. They obiect further, and saye, that dyce playing is not specially forbidden in the Scriptures; and, therefore, they may vse it.

Age. So, likewise, there is nothing found in the Scriptures, specially of bakers, brewers, cookes, sadlers, shoemakers, tanners, clothiers, taylors, &c. therefore, may they do in their occupations what craft and deceit they list, to deceiue the commons, as to vse false and vnlawfull wares, to make vnwholesome bread, and drinke, and meate for the common people, &c.? No wise man will graunt them that libertie, and yet you shall not reade of them in the scriptures, yet you must learne that all things are found generally in the holy scriptures, as in this: Whether ye eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer yee doe, doe all to the glorie of God. Againe: Whatsoeuer ye shall doe in worde or in dede, do all in the name of the Lorde Jesus, &c. I praye you what glorie of God is there in all their dyce-playing? nay, rather, what disglorie is there not? what swearing and blaspheming is vsed

Eccle. 44, 5
1 Cor. 10, 33
Colo. 3, 17
Math. 7, 12
Luc. 6, 31
Iob. 4, 16

among them? what couetousnesse and craft, what falsehood and theeuerie, what fighting and brawling, what pryde and ydlenesse, what pouertie, shame, and miserie, with such other like fruites, I haue sufficiently declared vnto you already; and, therefore, I am sure no Christian man will say that God is hereby honoured, but rather dishonoured, and, therefore, to be left off, refused, and detested of all good men. Yet, by their leaue, this game of dyce-playing is spoken of in two speciall places in the scripture, that expressly make mention of it with as great detestation as is possible. The one is in the olde testament, in the Psalmes; and the other is in the newe testament, in Saint John, where he speaketh of the game that was played for our Sauour Christes garment, and plainly declareth that it was at lottes (that is, at dice) to shewe that the church of God shoulde first be bewitched with suche lyke games, to make the breach first to all other loosenesse of life, and that the vnitie of the church should be broken by such meanes, &c.

Psal. 22, 18

Iohn, 19, 24

Youth. Hath any honest man, of credit and reputation, bene euill thought of for playing at dice before this time?

Age. That there hath, and not of the meanest sorte, but emperours, princes, and counsaylers.

Youth. I pray you, recite one or two to me for example.

Age. That I will. First, the most noble emperour Octavius Augustus, for that he played at dice (and that but sel-dome) hath among writers in diuers of his actes susteyned (in histories) a note of a sharpe reproche, and shame for his diceplaying, notwithstanding that he had many great vertues. Cicero reproched Marcus Antonius in open senate, as with one of the notablest faultes that he could cast in his teeth, that he played at dyce (which he called *aleam*). Claudius Cesar, emperour of Rome, shewed himself to be a foole, and a very blockhead (not onely for

Suetonius in
vita August.
Imperat.
cap. 71
Cicero in
Phillippica. 2

Suetonius

his other vices) for that he played at dice. Also the Lacedemonians sent an ambassadour to the cite of Corinth to ioyn with them ; but when the ambassadour found the princes and counsaylors playing at dyce, departed without doing his message, saying that he would not maculate and defile the honour of their people with such a reproch, to be sayde that they had made aliance with diceplayers.

Also they sent vnto Demetrius, the king of the Parthians, for his lightnesse in playing at dice (in a taunt) a payre of golden dyce. For the better credite I will recite to you Chaucer, which sayth hereof in verses.

Youth. I pray you do so, for I am desirous to heare what he sayth hereof.

Age. Stilbone, that was holden a wise ambassadour, Chaucer
Was sent to Corinth, with full great honour,
Fro Calidon, to make him aliaunce ;
And when he came, happened this chaunce,
That all the greatest that were in the lande,
Playing at dyce he them fand :
For which, as leoue as it might bee,
He stale him home agayne to his countree,
And sayde : There will I not lose my name ;
I will not take on me so great a shame,
For to ally you to no hassardours :
For by my truth I had leuer dye,
Than I should you to hassardours allye ;
For ye that be so glorious of honours,
Shall not allye you with hassardours :
As by my will, or by my treatie.
This wise philosopher thus sayde he.
Looke thee howe, king Demetrius,
The king of Parthes, as the booke sayth vs,
Sent a paire of dice of golde in scorne,

For he had vsed hassardie there beforne ;
 For which he helde his glorie and his renowne
 Of no value or reputation.
 Lordes mighte finde other maner play
 Honest ynough to driue the day away.

Youth. This is very notable ; but yet, I pray you, shew me what Chaucer's owne opinion is touching dice play.

Age. His opinion is this, in verses also :

Dycing is very mother of leesings,
 And of deceyte, and cursed forswearings,
 Blasphemie of God, manslaughter, and waste also,
 Of battayle, oughtinesse, and other mo,
 It is reprove, and contrarie to honour,
 For to beholde a common dicesour.
 And euer the higher he is of estate,
 The more he is holden desolate.
 If thou, a prince, doest vse hassardie,
 In all gouernance and policie,
 He is, as by common opinion,
 Holden lesse in reputation.

Sir Thomas
 Eliot, knight,
 in his booke
 of the gouer-
 nour

Sir Thomas Eliot, knight, sayth, that every thing is to be esteemed after his value ; but who, hearing a man, (sayeth he) whome he knoweth not, to be called a dicer, doth not suppose him to bee of a lighte credite, dissolute, vayne and remisse, &c. Nicholas Lyra (in a little booke of his, intituled *Præceptorium de Lyra*) alledgeth nine reasons against playing at dyce.

Lyra in lib.
præceptorium
 in 8 præcept.

Youth. I pray you, let me heare what those reasons are.

1 Tim. 5, 10

Age. First reason is, the couetous desire gayne, which is the roote of all euill : seconde reason is, the desire and will to spoyle and take from our neyghbours by deceyte and guyle that he hath : thirde reason is, the excesse gayne thereof, which passeth all kind of vsurie, which goeth by moneth and yeares, for gaine : but this diceplay

gayneth more in an houre, than vsurie doth in a yeare : the fourth reason is, the manifold lyings, vaine and ydle wordes and communications that alwayes happeneth in this dyceplay : the fifth reason is, the horrible and blasphemous othes and swearings, that are thundered out in those playes, against God and his maiestie : the sixt reason is, the manifolde corruptions and hurt of our neyghbours, which they vse to receiue and take by the euill custome and vsage of this diceplay : the seauenth reason is, the offence that it giueth to the good and godly : the eight reason is, the contempt and breach of all good lawes both of God and man, which vtterly forbiddeth this diceplay : the ninth and last reason is, the losse of time and doing of good, which in this time of diceplay are both neglected. For these causes (sayth Lyra) lawes were ordeyned to suppressse diceplay, &c.

Youth. Surely these are verye good reasons to proue that diceplay is a very euill exercise, and that in all ages and times it hath bene detested and abhorred.

Age. You may looke more of diceplay in Summa Angelica, in the chapter *Ludus*. Dicing is altogether hazarding : the more studious that a man shall be thereof, the wickedder and vn happier he shall be, whilest that in desiring other mens goodes, he consumeth his owne, and hath no respect of his patrimonie. This arte is the mother of lies, of periuries, theft, of debate, of iniuries, of manslaughter, the very inuention of the deuills of hell ; an arte altogether infamous, and forbidden by the lawes of all nations. At this daye this is the most accustomed pastime that kings and noble men vse. What ! do I call it a pastime ? naye, rather their wisdom, which herein hath bene damnably instructed to deceyue.

Summa
Angelica.
cap. Ludus

Henr. Corn
Agrippa de
vanitate
scientiarum

Youth. I maruaile, and wonder verye much, that euer this wicked diceplay could be suffred in any common welth.

Age. It hath bene neuer suffred, nor tolerable at anye time in any good common welth; for the Greeke and Latine hystories (and also our owne lawes of this realme of England) be full of notable lawes and examples (of good princes) that vtterly exiled and banished diceplaying oute of their seigniories and countries; and whoso-euer vsed diceplaying was taken, reputed, and holden as infamed persons.

Youth. I pray you, declare to me some examples and lawes hereof.

Cod. lib. 3.
tit vltimo

Alexander
Seuerus

Age. Justinian the Emperour made a decree, that none should play at tables publicly, or priuately in their houses, &c. Alexander Seuerus, the Emperour, did cleane banishe all diceplayers, hauing alway in his mouth this saying: Our forefathers trusted in wisdom and prowesse, and not in fortune, and desired victorie for renowne and honour, and not for money: and that game of diceplaye is to be abhorred, whereby wit sleepeth, and ydlenesse with couetousnesse is onely learned. He made a lawe, therefore, against all diceplayers, that if anye were found playing at dice, he shoulde be taken for franticke and madde, or as a foole naturall, which could not well gouerne himselve, and all his goodes and landes should be committed to sage and discrete personages, appoynted by the whole Senate, imploing upon him so much as was necessarye for his sustinance, &c. Finally, next vnto theeues and extortioners, he hated diceplayers most, ordeyning that no diceplayer should be capable or worthe to be called eyther to anye office or counsell.

Centuria 13,
ca. 7, fo. 749

Ludowicke, king of France, returning home from Damietta, commanded that *omnes faeneratores, Iudæos, aleatores*, &c. All Vsurers, Iewes, Diceplayers, and such as are raylers and euill speakers against the worde of God, shuld depart out of this realm. In the Digests, the Pretor sayth: If a diceplayer bee iniured, he will giue no ayde

vnto him, and if a man compell another to playe at dice, let him be punished and cast either in the quarries to digge stones, or else into the common prisons. Also in the same Digestes it is sayde, that if any manne stryke him in whose house he playeth at dice, or doe him anye wrong or iniurie; or if during the time of their play, any thing be pilfered or stollen out of his house, hee shall haue no lawe at all for it at my handes (sayth the Pretor). Also, whosoeuer lendeth money in this play, or lay any wagers among themselues, they are not firme and good, bicause it is a wicked exercise, not sufferable, but punishable.

In dig. de
aleatoribus,
lib. 9, tit 5,
num. 1

In this councell it was decreed, that if anye Christian did vse to play at dice, and would not give ouer and leaue it, he should be debarred from the communion a whole yeare at least.

Cone. Eliber-
tinum. cap. 79

In the decrees, it is there forbidden that Priestes should be present at playes (*Qui aleator est repellitur à promotione, nec debent inspectores ludi huiusmodi*): that Priest which is a dicer, let him be expelled from his promotion, neyther ought they to looke vpon such play. Also in the distinctions it is forbidden them to be drunkards and dicers, &c.; and the glose thereupon sayth: *Similiter laicus priuetur aut verberetur*: likewise let the lay man bee restrained, or else let him bee beaten and punished. Also in the canons (that are attributed unto the Apostles) this wicked dice play is vtterly forbidden, so wicked and detestable hath this play beene esteemed by all lawes. And at one word, this kinde of play (as it is reported of a truth) hath ouerthrowne the kings of Asia and all their estate: therefore, Iuuenall counteth dice-play among those vices that easiest corrupt a whole household, and is the worst example that can be in a well gouerned house, saying,

Decret. lib. 3,
cap. Clerici.

Distinct. 35,
cap. Episcop.

Cano. 41, 42

Iuuenal. in
sat. 14

If ancient folke, before their youth,
doe play at cardes or dice,

Their youth will frame to doe the like,
and imitate their vice.

Youth. I beseeche you, let me heare also what our owne lawes say against this diceplaying.

An. 12, R. 2 *Age.* In the time of King Richarde the seconde, all vnlawfull games were forbidden vniuersally, and namely diceplaying.

An. 21, H. 2 In the time of King Henry the fourth, diceplayers shoulde be punished by imprisonment for sixe dayes; and if the heade officers and sheriffes made not diligent search for gamesters, they should forfeyte xl^s: and if it were a constable, for his negligence he should paye vj^s. viij^d.

An. 17, E. 4 In the time of Kinge Edward the fourth, it was ordeyned, that all such as kept any houses for play at dice, &c. shoulde haue three yeares imprisonment, and to forfeyte twentie pound; and the players to haue two yeares of imprisonment, and to forfeyt ten pounce.

An. 11, H. 7 In the time of Kinge Henrie the seauenth, it was also ordeyned that diceplayers, &c. shoulde be set openlye in the stockes by the space of one whole day; and the housekeepers that suffered them to playe, to paye vj^s. viij^d. and to be bounde to their good behaiour.

An. 33, H. 8 In the time of King Henrie the eyght, it was ordeyned, that euerye housekeeper that vsed to keepe diceplaying within their houses, should forfeite fortie shillings; and the players to forfeyte vi^s. viii^d. and be bounde by recognisance neuer to playe any more at these vnlawfull games.

An. 3, H. 8 Also, in the reigne of the same Kinge Henrie the eyght, it was ordeyned, that if anye persons did disguise themselves in apparel, and couer their faces with visors, gathering a companie together, naming themselves Mummers, which vse to come to the dwelling places of men of honour, and other substantiall persons, whereupon

murders, felonie, rape, and other great hurts and inconveniences haue aforetime growen, and hereafter bee like to come by the colour thereof, if the saide disorder should continue not reformed, &c. that then they shoulde be arrested by the King's liege people as vagabondes, and bee committed to the gaole without bayle or mainprise, for the space of three monethes, and to fine at the king's pleasure : and euery one that keepeth anye visors in his house, to forfeyte xx^s.

In the reigne of our gracious Queene Elizabeth (that An. E. 14 now is) it was ordeyned, that all those which vse (to go to the countrie and playe) any vnlawfull games and playes, shall be taken as roges, and to be committed to prison, and for the first offence to haue a hole made through the gristle of the eare, with a hote yron, of an inche compasse ; and for the seconde offence to be hanged as a fellow.

Youth. These are excellent good lawes, whereby I see that in all times this diceplaying (especially) hath bene abhorred, detested, and sharpe lawes made to correct and punish it.

Age. They are good lawes in dede ; but I feare it may be aunswered, as one aunswered the Athenians (who bragged of their lawes) that they had good lawes in dede, but few or none duly executed : for I see that a great many of our rulers and magistrates doe not only neglect the execution of lawes herein vpon diceplayers, but are content to receiue into their houses, very worthily, such loytering diceplayers and mummers ; yea, rather than they should depart without play, they ioyned fellowship with them, and play at dice themselues, whereby they do great hurt to the people whom they rule ouer : as Tully sayth, *Tully plus nocent exemplo, quàm peccato* ; they doe more hurt by their example of lewde life, than by the sinne itselfe. Esaye, the prophet, sayde to the rulers in his Essay, 1, 23

Seneca

time, that the rulers were rebellious and companions of theues, &c. Seneca sayth, *grauissimus morbus est qui à capite diffunditur*; it is a moste daungerous disease that commeth from the heade.

Youth. It is most certaine that you say, and therefore the more pitie: for in so doing they are nurses to foster their evill doings, and allure the people by their examples; as the olde saying is, *qualis præceptor, talis discipulus*, as the maister is, suche is the scholers: And therefore a greater account haue they to make, before the throne of God at the day of iudgement.

Eccle. 10, 2

Age. It is very true: as Syrach sayth, As the iudge of the people is himselfe, so are his officers; and what maner of man the ruler of the citie is, such are all they that dwell therein. Syracides admonisheth rulers to be good examples in maners, lyfe, and doings, that they may shine, and bee as lightes before the people, that they whome they rule maye beholde their doings, and followe their good, iuste, and vertuous examples, saying:—

Syracides

*Scilicet in vulgis manent exempla regentum,
Vtique ducum lituos, sic mores castra sequuntur.*

Such as doe the people rule
according vnto lawe;
Examples they must giue to them,
howe they shoulde liue in awe;
For, as the Captaines trumpe doth sounde,
so will his hoste prepare
To followe him where as he goeth,
to sorrowe or to care.

Youth. Is not this gaming condemned likewise by the holy Scriptures?

Age. Yes, truly, most manifestly.

Youth. I pray you, let me heare howe it is forbidden by the holy Scriptures.

Age. First, it is ordeyned against the expresse and thirde commandment of God, which sayth: Thou shalt not take the name of the Lorde in vaine; so that whosoever vseth this chaunce of lottes in ydle and trifling things taketh the name and providence of God in vaine. For the lot is one of the principall wittnesses of Gods power, (as Salomon recordeth) that it is ruled and gouerned immediately by his hande, power, and providence: and therefore we maye not vse lottes so triflinglie, as it were to tempt God, and to trie what care he hath of the worlde, but onely in matters of great importance, and where his diuine will should be extraordinariely known and vnderstoode, as in diuiding of goodes and choosing of magistrates, and such lyke, to ende all quarrels or corruption of voyces, and not in sleight things, as though we would make God seruant to our pastymes and sportes, and trye what care he hadde of them. Secondly, this playe is instituted contrarie to the true nature and ende of that which we in Englishe call play or pastime, and the Latines call *ludus*; and therefore the playe at dice is a very corruption of God's holy permission, and of true and honest play. For all playes are appointed and lyked of men for two causes onely; either for the exercise of the bodye (whereof dice-play is wholly contrarie, being a sporte of a sorte of ydle vnthriftes) or else play should serue for the recreation of the minde, and refreshing of our bodies, whereunto dice-play is wholly repugnant and contrarie, for therein is no exercise of our wittes, but we onely stay vpon the chaunce of the dice, whyle as well he that winneth, as he that loseth, is amazed and vnsure of his chaunce, but alwayes gapeth for the chaunce of his happe, without anye pleasure, but onely a couetous desire to gayne: also we see, that the more they play at such games, the more they may, without anye such contentment or pleasure of the minde, as is founde in other honest and lawfull games.

Prou. 16, 33
Cap. 18, 18

Acts 1, 26

Thirdly, the forbidding thereof by the ciuill lawes, and commaundments of magistrates, maketh these playes offensiue, wicked, and vnlawful, though of their owne nature they were not so; for Saint Paule sayth thus :
 1 Cor. 8, 13 Though I shoulde forbear from eating of fleshe all the dayes of my life, rather than offende my brother, I ought to doe it : much more ought we for feare of offence to forbear this play, in that it is nothing necessarie for the sustayning of man's lyfe, nor of like commodity to the vse of fleshe, which S. Paule willeth vs yet to forbear, if occasion serve; for there are other wayes to pastime and sport vs, than by those playes. Fourthly, the spirit of God commaundeth vs by Saint Paule to redeeme the time that we haue loste in ydle and unprofitable things, and to bestow the time present in good and holy things to edification, bicause the dayes are euill. For when God giueth vs leysure, eyther to reade his holy worde, to visit the poore, to comfort the afflicted, or to doe such like dutiful deedes, we ought to doe it quickly, bicause that incontinently one let or other may happen, which may withdrawe our mindes therefrom : a thousande afflictions are present before vs, and it will be harde to recouer that whiche we so sleightly ouerslippe. But I pray you, is that well spending the time and leysure which God giueth vs to doe good in, to lose it in playing at dyce, which I haue declared to be so offensiue? Fifthly, the beggerly and greedy desire in that game doth so farre exceede all other, that there is nothing that doth more entice and encourage a man to play, than this dyceplay doth; and the reason thereof is manifest, that seeing the loser perceiueth that such losse happeneth not by the cunning of the player, but rather by his happe and chaunce for that time, he hopeth to recouer his mony by the said hap, which is lykely to chaunge, being naturally chaungeable, and therefore playeth on hoping for better chance, and so continueth

Ephe. 5, 16
 Colos. 4, 5
 1 Pet. 4, 2

Mat. 25, 36
 Iames 1, 27

Gal. 6, 10

feeding himselfe with looking for the chaunge of the dice : so as this game is proued to be the verye occupation of loyterers and vagabondes ; but in plays of skill and cunning, the cause of the losse is soon espied, and to be perceiued, and therefore hee that perceyueth himselfe to bee the weaker doth immediately leaue playe. What shall I speake of the insattable couetousnesse that is in this play, while eyther partye seeketh to winne others mony, or rather the one of them to vndoe the other, and also go about to deceyue the other? Some play away their houses, horses, clothes ; some all that euer they haue, or can borowe, ere they can leaue off, till all be gone, so enticing and alluring is this game aboue all other, which causeth so many come to beggery, stealing, and finallye to that vntimely death of the gallowes. To this effecte, a certaine poet and a doctor of both lawes, sayth :

Sebastianus
Brant. in lib.
Stultifera na-
uis

The damnable lust of cardes and of dice,
And other games prohibite by lawe,
To great offences some fooles doth attice ;
Yet can they not themselues therefro withdrawe :
They count their labors and losse not worth a straw,
Caring naught else, therein is their delite,
Till Christ and health be scaped from them quite.

There is almost no maner of degree,
Man, childe, woman, pooreman, or estate,
Olde, or yong, that of this game are free,
Nor yet the clergie, both poore priest and prelate ;
They use the same almost after one rate :
When by great losse they brought are in a rage,
Right fewe haue reason their madnesse to assuage.

And to be playne, great inconueniences
Proceedeth to many by this vnlawfull game,

And by the same oft youth doth sue offences
 To his destruction, and all his friendes shame :
 Often some by folly falleth to be a theefe,
 And so ende in shame, sorowe, and mischief.

Youth. What say you to carde playing? is that to be vsed and allowed among men?

Age. I tell you plainly, it is euen almost as badde as the other: there is neuer a barrell better herring (as the prouerbe is); yet of the two euils it is somewhat the lesse, for that therein wit is more vsed, and lesse trust in chance and fortune (as they terme it), and yet I say, therein is no laudable studie or good exercise. Dice playing is the mother, and carde playing is the daughter, for they draw both with one string all the followers thereof vnto ydlenesse, loytering, blaspheming, miserie, infamie, shame, penurie, and confusion.

Youth. Is there as much craft and deceit at carde playing, as there is at dice playing?

Age. Almost one; I will not giue a straw to choose: they haue such sleightes in sorting and shuffling of the cardes, playe at what game ye will, all is lost aforehande, especially if two be confederate to cousin the thirde.

Youth. As how, I pray you?

Age. Eyther by pricking of a carde, or pinching of it, cutting at the nicke; eyther by a bumbe carde finely vnder, ouer, or in the middes, &c. and what not to deceyue? And therefore to conclude, I say with that good father, Saint Cyprian, the playe at cardes is an inuention of the deuill, which he found out that he might the easier bring in ydolatrie amongst men. For the kings and coate cardes that we vse now, were in olde times the images of idols and false gods which, since they that would seeme christians, haue changed into Charlemaine, Launcelot, Hector, and such lyke names, bicause they would not seeme to imitate their idolatrie therein, and yet maintaine the playe

it selfe, the very inuention of Satan, the deuill, and woulde so disguise this mischeife vnder the cloake of such gaye names.

Youth. They vse to playe at cardes commonly after supper, &c.

Age. I will condemne no man that doth so ; but Plato saith in his Banket, that players and minstrels that are vsed after suppers is a simple pastime, and fit for brutish and ignorant men, which knowe not howe to bestowe their time in better exercises. I may with better reason say the lyke by all carders and diceplayers.

Youth. What say you to the playe at tables?

Age. Playing at tables is farre more tollerable (although in all respects not allowable) than dyce and cardes are, for that it leaueth partly to chaunce and partly to industrie of the mynde ; for, although they cast in deede by chaunce, yet the castes are governed by industrie and witte. In that respect, Plato affirmed, that the life of manne is lyke vnto the playe at tables ; for even as (sayeth he) in table playe, so also in the life of man, if anything go not verie well, the same must bee by arte corrected and amended, &c. as when a caste is euill, it is holpen againe by the wysedome and cunning of the player.

Youth. What say you to the playe at chesse ? is that lawfull to be vsed ?

Age. Of all games (wherein is no bodily exercise) it is most to be commended, for it is a wise play (and therefore was named the philosophers' game) ; for in it there is no deceyte or guyle, the witte thereby is made more sharpe, and the remembrance quickened, and therefore maye bee vsed moderately. Yet doe I reade that that notable and constant martyr (John Hus) repented him for his playing at chesse, saying, I haue delighted to play oftentimes at chesse, and haue neglected my time, and thereby haue vnhappily prouoked both myself and other

John Hus

Acts and Monuments of the Church in the first volum. fo. 747

to anger many times by that playe : wherefore (sayeth he) besides other my innumerable faultes, for this also I desire you to inuocate the mercie of the Lorde, that he would pardon me, &c. O mercifull Lorde ! if this good and gracious ffather, and faithfull martyr of Christ, did so earnestly repent him for his playing at chesse (which is a game without hurt), what cause then hath our dice and cardplayers to repent and craue pardon at God's hands for their wicked and detestable playing? And I pray vnto God for his Christ's sake, that this good martyr may be a patrone and ensample for all them to followe.

Youth. Well, now I perceiue by you, that table playing, and chesse playing may be vsed of any man, soberly and moderately; and in my iudgement you haue said well, for that many men who (by reason of sicknesse and age) cannot exercise the powers of their bodies, are to be recreated with some pleasure, as with tables or chesse playing.

Iob, 17, 13,
14

Age. The sicke and aged have more neede to pray than to playe, considering they hasten to their graue; and therefore haue neede to say alwayes with Iob : The graue is my house, darknesse is my bedde, rottennesse thou art my father, and wormes are my mother and sister, &c. Salomon sayth : Though a man lyue many yeares, and in them all he reioyce, yet he shall remember the dayes of death, all that cometh is vanitie, &c. Yet I doe not vtterly deny, but that these kinde of playes serue suche, that sometime they may be permitted, so that they bring no hurt, refreshe the powers, be ioyned with honestie, without playing for any mony at all; and that that time which shoulde be spent vpon better things, be not bestowed vpon these playes in any wise, that henceforth (sayth Saint Peter) they should liue as much time as remaineth, not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God, &c.

Eccl. 11, 8

A TREATISE AGAINST DAUNCING.

Nowe that you haue so well contented my minde as touching diceplaying, &c. I beseeche you, let me trouble you a little further, to knowe whether dauncing be tollerable and lawfull to be vsed among Christians, or no.

Age. If your demaunde be generall of all kinde of dauncings, then I must make a distinction. If you speake specialle of our kynde and manner of dauncing (in these our dayes) then I say it is not lawfull nor tollerable, but wicked and filthie, and in anye wise not to be suffered, or vsed of anye Christian.

Youth. Are there diuers kyndes of dauncing?

Age. Yea, that there are.

Youth. I am desirous to know them, least I do (through ignorance) confounde one in another, and one for another.

Age. There are daunces called *Chorea*, which signifieth ioye, bicause it is a certayne testification of ioye; and Seruius, (when he interpreteth this verse of Vergil, *Omnis quam chorus et socij comitentur ovantes*: that is when all the daunce and fellowes followed with myrth) sayth that *chorus* is the singing, and dauncing of such as be of like age. There is also another kinde of dauncing, whereby men were exercised in warrelike affayres, for they were commaunded to make gestures, and to leape, hauing vpon them their armour, for that afterwarde they might be the more prompt to fight, when neede (for the publike weale) should require. This kynde of dauncing was called *Saltatio Pyrrhica*, bicause it was exercised in armour. Of those daunces Plato speaketh largely, &c. There is another kynde of dauncing, which was insti-

Plato, lib. 3,
de legibus

tuted onely for pleasure and wantonnesse sake : this kynde of daunces Demetricus Cynicus derided, calling it a thing vayne, and nothing worth. And, if you speake onely of this kynde of daunce, I say, as he sayth, it is vaine, foolish, fleshly, filthie, and diuelishe.

Youth. Who was the first inuentor and deuisor of thys latter kinde of dauncing?

Age. There are diuers opinions hereof; for, as Solynus sayth, it was first deuised in Crete by one Pyrrhus, that was one of Sybilles priestes. Others saye that the priestes of Mars (called *Saliy*) inuented it, for they were had among the Romanes in great honour for their dauncing. Others doe referre it to Hiero, a great tyrant of Sicilia; for that he, to establish his tyranny, forbade the people to speake one to another: whereupon men in Sicilia began to expresse their meanings and thoughts by becks and gestures of the body; which thing afterwarde turned into an vse and custome. Some other suppose that men, when they behelde the sundrie motions of the wandring starres, found out dauncing. Others affirme that it came from the olde Ethnickes, &c. But, whatsoeuer these saye, Saint Chrysostome, an ancient father, sayth that it came first from the deuill; for, when he sawe, (sayth he) that the people had committed idolatrie to the golden calfe, he gaue them this libertie, that they shoulde eate and drinke, and ryse vp to daunce. One Sebastian Brant agreeth hereunto, saying :

Polyd Vyrgil,
de inuent. re-
rum, lib. 2,
cap. 8

Rodulphus
Gualterus in
Marc. hom,
51, cap. 6

Chrysost. in
Mat. hom. 6

Sebast. Brant,
lib. Stultifer.
nauis

The first beginning and cause originall,
I say the cause thereof, is worthy blame,
For, when the deuill to deceyue men mortall,
And doe contempt to the high God eternall,
Vpon a stage had set a calfe of golde,
That euery man the same might clearly beholde,
So when the fende, grounde of misgouernaunce,
Caused the people this figure to honour

As for their God, and before the same to daunce
 When they were drunken, thus fell they in errour
 Of idollatrie, and forgot their creatour.
 Before this idoll dauncing both wyfe and man
 Despising God: thus dauncing first began.

Whereby you may easily perceiue from whence this Math. 7, 16,
 dauncing came, euen from the deuill himselſe; for there 17, 18, 20
 can neuer come good effectes when the causes are euill,
 as out of a stinking puddle cannot come cleane water,
 nor of thornes men can gather grapes, or figs of thistles,
 &c. euen so out of our kynd of dauncing can come no-
 thing but that which is euill and naught.

Youth. Why do you speake so much against daun-
 cing, sithe we haue so many examples in the scriptures
 of those that were godly, and daunced? as Myriam, Exod. 15, 20
 Moses and Aaron's sister, tooke a timbrell in her hande,
 and all the women came out after hir with timbrels and
 daunces, &c.; also Jephtah, when he came at Mizpeh Iudg. 11, 34
 vnto his house, his daughter came out to meet him with
 timbrels and daunces, &c.: also the women came out of 1 Sam. 18, 6
 all the cities of Israell, singing and dauncing to meete
 King Saule, with timbrels, with instruments of ioy, and
 with rebeckes, &c. King David also daunced before the 2 Sam. 6, 14
 Lorde with all his mighte, &c.: also all the women of Iudith, 15, 12,
 Israell came together to see Iudeth, and blessed hir, and 13
 made a daunce among them for hir, &c. and she went
 before the people in the daunce, leading all the women,
 and all the men of Israell followed in their armour, &c.
 Salomon sayeth, there is a time to mourne, and a time Ecce. 5, 4
 to daunce. It is sayde in Sainte Luke, by Christe him- Luc. 7, 32
 selfe, Wee haue piped vnto you, and ye haue not
 daunced, &c. Manye suche like examples I could recite,
 to proue dauncing to be laudable, and not so wicked as
 you seeme to make it.

Age. I perceyue you use to reade the Scriptures, for you haue collected out many examples for your purpose, which serue you nothing at all to maintaine your filthie daunce. Herein you shew yourselfe lyke vnto the pappstes, for wheresoeuer they reade in scripture Peter's name, vp goeth the Popes false supremacie: wheresoeuer they reade this worde crosse, they aduance out of hande their roode and roodeloft: where they read light, they set vp their tapers and torches: where they reade this worde will, vppe goeth their freewill workes; and where they read of workes, there they maintaine merits: where they reade of fire, there they say is ment of purgatorie; and when they read the worde vowe, they applye it vnto their single and vnchast lyfe, &c. So play you, and those that maintayne dauncing; for wheresoeuer you read this worde (daunce) presently you apply it in such sort, as though were ment thereby your filthie dauncings; which is not so if it be diligently considered. Saint Hierome saith: *Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse euangelium, sed in sensu; non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum folijs, sed in radice rationis*: let vs not think that the gospell (sayth he) consisteth in the wordes of the scriptures, but in the meaning; not in the barke, but in the pith; not in the leaues of wordes, but in the roote of the meaning.

Hieron. in
Epist. ad Gal.
cap. 1

Youth. I speake not of words onely, but I speake to proue dauncing by certaine examples.

Age. The logitian sayth, that an argument made onely by examples, halteth alwayes vpon one foot; that is to saye, that it is but halfe an argument: as if he would saye, we must not buylde, and make a rule vpon examples onely, without there be some other reason and authoritie; and, therefore, it is sayde, *Legibus enim viuimus, non exemplis*; we liue by lawes, and not by examples. If, then, a logitian so saye vpon prophane

arguments, we ought a great deale more so to saye, touching diuine causes: and if a logitian will not allowe an argument which is not made but vpon examples, thinkest thou that the holye Scripture doth admit and allowe it?

Youth. And why not, I pray you?

Age. Bicause the people then would fall into sinne and great errors. As a man would saye, Abraham had the companie of his seruant Agar, and therefore I may haue the companie of my seruant: likewise, a man might say that Iacob had two sisters to wife, and therefore I may also haue two. A man might likewise say, Abraham pleased God in that he sacrificed his sonne Isaac, therefore I shall please him in sacrificing my sonne unto him, &c. and so, if we must argue by examples, without reason and authoritie of holy scripture, there shoulde be nothing but confusion in Christian religion.

Youth. I pray you, then, let mee heare your reasons to the contrarie, that these examples, and such like, &c., serue not for the maintenance of dauncing.

Age. Neuerthelesse (that I have spoken sufficient hereunto) yet I will make aunswere to your examples.

Youth. I shall giue attentie eare thereunto.

Age. First, that daunce, that Miriam, Aaron's sister, and the other women vsed, was no vayne and wanton daunce, for carnall and filthie pleasures (as yours is), but it was that kynde of daunce which is called (Chorea), for they did it in praising God, signifying and declaring their great ioye, that Moses and Aaron, with all the children of Israel, were passed the Redde Sea in safetie, and their enemies (Pharao and his hoste) destroyed, &c. And the like order did Jephtah his daughter vse, for the victorie that God gaue vnto hir father against his enemies, &c. And so did the women in meeting king Saule: and also Judith, and the residue of the women,

&c. praised God for the victorie that Saule had ouer the Philistines. And Judith, with the residue, magnified God (as appeareth in the xvj. chapter), for that the citie of Bethulia was deliuered from the enemies by the death of Holofernes; and so, in going altogether, hande in hande, rejoiced and praised God in psalmes. Also here is to be noted in these examples that you alledge for dauncing, that Miriam and the other women, and Jephtah his daughter, the women that daunced in meeting Saule, and Judith, that daunced with the other women of Israel for ioye of their deliuerie, &c., daunced not with yong men, but apart by themselues among women and maidens (which celebrated their victories), but seuerally, by themselues, among men. Also their daunces were spirituall, religious, and godly; not after our hoppings, and leapings, and interminglings men with women, &c. (dauncing euery one for his part), but soberly, grauely, and, matronelyke, mouing scarce little or nothing in their gestures at all, eyther in countenance or bodye: they had no minstrells or pypers to play vnto them; but they tooke their timbrells in their owne handes (that coulde play), and not as our foolishe and fonde women vsed to mixe themselues with men in their daunce. And as for that place of Salomon that sayeth, There is a time to daunce, &c., he 'meaneth this kynde of daunce which these good women vsed, which is a ioyefulnesse of heart, which bringeth spirituall profite, and not carnall pleasures (as our daunces doe). Also, Salomon hereby teacheth vs howe we should vse tymes in their order; as, when there is a tyme and cause to mourne and lament, then must we vse it; when God sendeth agayne good things, we must also vse that, and to bee mery and reioice in the Lorde. A time of sorrowe the widow had in losing of hir groate; another time, also, when it was founde to be mery and ioyfull; teaching is hereby,

also, that sorrowe shall not continue for euer, but God will sende some ioye and comforte: so, likewise, ioye shall not continue still, but God will send some corrections to nurture vs, &c. Therefore, you may easily perceiue hereby, that Salomon meaneth by this worde, daunce, ioyfulnesse and comforte; and by the worde, mourning, he meaneth sorrowe and calamitye, &c. Also you muste note in these foresayde daunces, that it was an ordinarie custome and manner among the Jewes to vse suche kynde of godly dauncings in certaine solemnities and triumphs, when as God did giue them good and prosperous successes against their enimies. Are our daunces applied, reserued, and kept to such vses? Nothing lesse.

As for Dauid's dauncing before the Lorde, it was for no vayne pleasure and carnall pastime (as your daunces are, or as Micholl his wife foolishly iudged), as appeareth by Dauid's owne wordes, saying: It was before the Lorde, which chose mee rather than thy fathers, &c. and therefore (sayeth hee), I will playe before the Lorde. In that he daunced, it was done in two respectes: one for ioye that the arke of God was restored againe: the other, for that God had exalted him to be a king and ruler ouer Israel; and this kynde of daunce that he daunced, may be called *Saltatio Pyrrhica*. Saint Ambrose, speaking of Dauid's dauncing, sayeth: *Cantauit David et ante arcam Domini, non pro lasscivia, sed pro religione saltauit: ergo non hystrionicis motibus sinuati corporis saltus, sed impigræ mentis et religiosa corporis agilitas designatur*: Dauid did sing and daunce before the arke of the Lorde, not for wantonnesse and pleasure, but for religion; not leaping and turning of his bodie with playerlyke mouings and gestures, but did expresse his diligent mynde, and religious agilitie of his bodye.

Amb. in Luc.
lib. 6, cap. 7

Againe: *Est honesta saltatio, qua tripudiat animus, et bonis corpus operibus relevatur, quando in salicibus organa nostra suspendimus*: there is an honest dauncing, when as the mynde daunceth, and the bodie sheweth hym selfe by good workes, when as we hang our instruments vpon the willowe trees. In that he sayeth, there is an honest dauncing, argueth that there is a contrarie dauncing, which is vn honest; and no doubt he meaneth these, and such lyke, foolish and filthie daunces, as we vse in these dayes. Therefore, he sayeth, *Docuit nos Scriptura cantare grauitur, et saltare spiritualiter*. The holye Scripture teacheth vs to sing reuerentlye, and to daunce spirituall (sayeth hee); and that Dauid's daunce was a spirituall and religious daunce, appeareth by the Ephod he put on, &c. If you, and such lyke dauncers (if you will nedes daunce) had that spirit that Dauid had when he daunced, in praying and lauding God for his gret benefits, daunce a God's name.

Rodolphus
Gualterus, in
Marc. ho. 51,
cap. 6

M. Gualter sayeth: *Nimis frivolum est, cum de choris facris intelligi debeam, in quibus vel solæ mulieres, vel viri soli eximia Dei beneficia carminibus ad eam rem compositis, non sine concinno et decoro corporis motu celebrabant*. It is a great foolishnesse to maintayne dauncings by those examples of Marie Moses' sister, Dauid, and others, &c., for their daunces were holy and religious, in the which all the women togither alone, or all the men alone (by themselues) didde celebrate and set forth the goodnesse and benefits of God, in verses made for those purposes, not without a comely and decent order and gesture in mouing of their bodies.

Luc. 7, 32

And as for that place of Luke where Christ sayde, We haue piped, and you haue not daunced, &c., serveth nothing at all, to maintayne your dauncing: it was not to that ende and purpose spoken by Christ, but

Christ spoke against the obstinate Phariseys, greatly accusing thereby the inuincible hardnesse of their heart: he doth reproach them, bicause the Lord had tried by diuers meanes to bring them vnto him, and they with frowarde and rebellious mindes and heartes refused and despised his grace offered vnto them, as appeareth plainly by these wordes a little before: Then, all the people that hearde, and the Publicanes iustified God, &c.; but the Pharaseys and the expounders of the lawe despised the councell of God against themselues, &c. Then Christe sayde, Whereto shall I liken menne of this generation? &c.: They are like the children sitting in the market-place, and crying one to another, and saying, we haue pyped vnto you, and yee haue not daunced, we haue mourned to you, and ye haue not wept, &c.: as though Christe woulde saye, Nothing can please this frowarde generation: Iohn preached the lawe, and badde them repente and mourne for their sinnes. I (being the Messias) doe preach vnto them the Gospell of ioye, peace, comforte, and forgiuenesse of sinnes freely, without their merites and desertes; so that they will neyther mourne at Iohn's preaching, nor daunce at my pype, notwithstanding I pipe ioyfull and mery things vnto them. Christ teacheth also hereby, that the songs of little children are sufficient to condemn the Phariseys, and such lyke. Christ, therefore, by his similitude, sheweth what was the wonted pastime of children, and it seemeth to be taken out of the prophet Zacharie. And as this was spoken of the Phariseys, I Zacha. 8, 5 feare me it may be likewise verified in vs: you maye nowe easily perceyue what Christ ment by this pyping and dauncing, not maintayning thereby your fonde, foolishe, vayne dauncing, but rather it teacheth you, that if you refuse the sweete pyping of the preaching of the gospel of Christ, nowe offered (which wyll

Mat. 22, 13

make you heart and soule to leape and daunce within you for ioye and gladnesse) and followe these transitorie pypes to daunce after that tune and facion, you shall one day (if you repent not) weepe for your laughing, sorrow for your ioying, hauing your swinging handes and leaping legges bound fast, and cast into vtter darknesse, where shall be weeping, wayling, and gnashing of teeth: so that in steade of great houses and palaces, you shall haue hell; for delicate fare and pastimes, euerlasting paynes; for pleasant songs, wo and weeping.

Youth. You cannot deny but there was dauncing allowed of in the Scriptures, by your owne saying.

Age. I must needes graunt, that there is dauncing expressed in the Scriptures, but I doubt whether it was allowed of or not.

Youth. You finde nothing to the contrarie.

Exod. 32, 6
Esay. 5, 11,
12
Eccle. 9, 4
Ro. 13, 12, 13
Eph. 5, 4
1 Cor. 10, 7
Mat. 14, 6, 7
Mar. 6, 22

Age. Yes; I finde that dauncings were oftentimes reprobued, but neuer commaunded (in the Scriptures) to be vsed, as you may reade in Exodus, Esay, Ecclesiasticus, Romaines, Corinthians, Ephesians, Mathewe, and Marke, (which places in the margent you shall finde them).

Youth. Although it were after another sort and facion than our daunces are, yet you cannot deny but that they daunced; for it is one thing to reason and speake of the abuse, and another thing to speake or reason of the thing it selfe.

Age. I did distinguishe daunces at the beginning of our talke; and I wish to God we might followe those godly people, men and women, who now and then vsed dauncing, but yet such as were moderate, chaste, honest, religious, so that the men daunced by themselues, and the women apart by themselues, and did by such kynde of daunces shew forth the gladnesse of their mynde, they

sang praises vnto God, and gaue him thanks for some notable benefit which they had receiued at his hands. But we reade not in all the holy scriptures of mingled daunces of men and women together; and therefore not onely the abuse, but also the dauncing itselfe ought to be taken awaye, and not to be vsed by anie godly Christian, for that there cometh of it all wantonnesse and wickednesse.

Youth. Will you say that dauncing, simply of it selfe, is vitious and euill?

Age. I say not so, if you speak generally, as you haue heard before; but if you speake specially of your kynd and fashions of dauncing, (as it is nowe vsed in these dayes) I say to you, it is not to be vsed, nor the daunce to be allowed, for that it is wicked and filthie.

Youth. What shoulde moue you to be so earnestly bent against this merye and pleasant pastyme of dauncing, sithe so many noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and others, vse it continuallye?

Age. Bicause that they that loue God with all their heart, and with all their strength, ought not onely to obserue his commaundmentes, but also to cut off all occasions, wherby the obseruing of them might be letted or hyndered.

Heb. 12, 1
Math. 3, 29

Youth. What occasion of hinderance or let is dauncing vnto the obseruation of God's lawe and commaundmentes?

Age. They are most manifest occasions of transgressions of the lawes of God: they are snares and offences, not onely vnto the dauncers, but also to the beholders; for they stirre vp and inflame the hearts of men, which are otherwise euill inough, euen from their beginning: and that thing which is to be suppressed and kept vnder with great studie and industrye (as the lust of the flesh, Ioh. 2, 16 the lust of the eyes, and the pride of lyfe) the same is

stirred vp by the wanton enticementes of daunces. I maye saye of dauncing, as Saint Augustine sayeth of drunkennesse: *O dolosa saltatio, omnium malorum mater, omnis luxuriæ soror, omnis superbicæ pater*; O deceytfull daunce! it is the mother of all euill, the sister of all carnall pleasures, the father of all pryde. Vndoubtedly if a man will consider himselfe, eyther by experience or by reason, he shall fynde the lusts of the mynde not a little kindled and inflamed, and he shall perceyue that men returne home from those daunces lesse good than they were, and the women also lesse chaste in their mindes (if not in bodies) than they were before. Therefore, perilles are rather to be auoyded than nourished. Dauid, therefore, prayed vnto the Lord, and sayde: Turne away myne eyes from beholding vanitie, &c. Syrach sayth: Go not about gasing in the streetes of the citie, neyther wander thou in the secret places thereof: turne away thine eye from a beautifull woman, and looke not vpon other's beauty, for many have perished by the beautie of women; for thorowe it loue is kindled as a fire. It is sayde, therefore, that the sonnes of God sawe the daughters of men, that they were fayre, and tooke them wiues of all that liked them. The eyes are, therefore, called, *fores et fænestræ animæ*; the doores and windowes of the minde. Job sayde, (when as he felt the discommoditie of such vayne sightes) I made a couenant with mine eyes; why, then, should I think on a mayde? as if he would say; Sith I vse not these wanton lookes to behold vayne pastimes and beautie, I haue no desire and lust kindled in me. So that you may perceyue, nothing so soone quencheth lust and concupiscence, as not to be present, or to behold such vanities; otherwise, as Salomon sayth, he which loueth daunger shall fall therein. Can a man (sayeth he) take fire in his bosome, and his cloathes not be

August. ad
fratr. in
Eremo. serm.
33

Psal. 119, 37
Eccle. 9, 7, 8

Gen. 6, 2

Iob, 31, 1

Prou. 6, 27,
28

burnt? or can a man go vpon coales, and his foote not be burnt? for he that toucheth pitche shall be defiled with it; and he that is familiar with the prowde shall be lyke vnto him. And for this cause Syrach sayth, Vse not the compayne of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, neyther heare hir, least thou be taken with hir craftynesse. Sebastianus Brant sayeth :

Eccle. 13, 2
Deut. 7, 8

What else is dauncing but euen a nurcerie,
Or else a bayte to purchase and maintayne
In yong hearts the vile sinne of ribaudrie,
Them fettering therein as in a deadly chayne?
And, to say truth in wordes cleare and playne,
Venerous people haue all their whole pleasance,
Their vice to nourishe by this vnthiftie daunce.

Sebastianus
Brant. lib.
Stultifera
nauiis

And wanton people, disposed vnto sinne,
To satisfie their madde concupiscence,
With hasty course vnto this daunce runne,
To seeke occasion of vile sinne and offence :
And to expresse my minde in short sentence,
This vicious game oft times doth attice
By his lewde signes chaste heartes vnto vice.

Youth. Whereas Dauncing is so agaynst maners, and do kindle lust, the same commeth rashly and by chaunce; but euerye thing is to be iudged, not of these things which happen by chaunce, but of these things which are in it of itselfe and by nature: for there are some so chaste and vncorrupt, that they can beholde these daunces with a perfect and chaste mynde.

Age. I graunt, that which you say maye sometimes happen, but I adde thereunto also, that all accidents are not of one and selfe same kynde: for there are some which happen very rarely; other some which by their nature may as well be present vnto anye thing, as absent; and

some such as are wont to happen oftentimes: and, for the most part, these last accidents ought in euery thing to be considered, and most diligently to be weyghed. Neyther must we take heede onely what may be done, but also what is wont to be done.

Aristippus

Youth. I reade that Aristippus daunced in purple; and, being reprov'd, he made an excuse, that he was made neuer a whit the worse by that dauncing, but might in that softnesse kepe still his philosophicall minde chaste.

Demosthenes

Age. Demosthenes sayeth (and is also cited of the lawiers) that we must not consider what some certayne man doth at a time, but what is wont to be done for the most part. Graunt that there be some one man or other so chaste, that he is nothing moued with such inticements; but howe are the people and multitude in the meane time provided? Shall we, for the perfectnesse and integritie of one or two, suffer all the rest to be endaugered? *Una hirundo non facit ver*, one swallowsse proueth not that summer is come.

2 Cor. 2, 16

Youth. If these reasons of yours holde true, then take away sermons also, and sacramentes, meate, and drinke,

1 Cor. 11, 20

&c. for many heare the worde of God, sometime to

Eccle. 31, 30

their condemnation, and receyue the sacramentes to their damnation, and many eate and drinke, and are drunke, and do surfeyte, &c. and so dye.

Age. You must vnderstande, that certayne things are profitable for the saluation of man, and are commaunded by the word of God, which things ought by no means to be taken awaye; and some things that of necessitie we must haue, as meate, drinke, &c. to nourishe our weake bodies, or else we cannot lyue here, &c. and certayne other things are indifferent, which, if wee see they tend to destruction, they are not to be suffred. We haue the lawe of God for hearing of sermons, receyuing

of sacramentes, to eate and drinke (soberly); but for dauncing there is no commaundment giuen by the worde of God. Wherefore, these things are not to be compared together.

Youth. It is well knowne, that by daunces and leapings very many honest mariages are brought to passe, and, therefore, it is good and tolerable.

Age. It may be as you say (sometime), but we may not doe euill, that good may come thereof; for you haue hearde me say often, that it is euill and not good to daunce as you doe. But I am not of that opinion to haue marriages contracted by these artes and actes, wherein a regarde is had onely to the agilitie and beautie of the bodie, and not vnto godlinesse and true religion, &c. There are other meanes much more honest; let vs vse them in God's name, and leaue these as little chaste and lesse shamefastnesse: let vs remember, that although honest matrimonies are sometime brought to passe by dauncing, yet much more often are adulteries and fornications wonte to followe of these daunces.

Rom. 3, 8

Iob. 4, 12

Genes. 6

Prou. 31, 3

Youth. You speake more euill of dauncing, than there cometh hurt by dauncing, as farre as I can iudge.

Age. No, my sonne, not halfe as much euill as it deserueth can I speake of, nor yet can vtter one quarter of the wicked and filthie mischiefes that come thereof. Marke the effects thereof, and then you shall tell me another tale. Is it not written in S. Mathewe, that the daughter of Herodius daunced at a banquet which the king made: and the king tooke pleasure in hir (whome he would not openly without shame beholde, for she was a manifest testimonie of his vnlawfull matrimonie and incest): of that dauncing it came to passe, that Iohn Baptist's head was cut off at hir desire, &c. so inflamed she the king's heart by hir filthie and wanton daunce. Theophilact sayth herevpon: *Mira collusio; saltat per*

Math. 14, 6

Marc. 6, 22

Theoph. in
Mat. cap. 6

Erasmus in
Annot. in
Math. cap. 14

puellam diabolus, &c. This is a wonderfull collusion ; for the deuill daunced by the mayde. She daunced not rudely, as doe the common sort of people, but finely, and with a comely gesture, with measure, &c. as some write. But that worthie man, Erasmus, sayth : *Non subsiliit, vt populas putat, quemadmodum gesticulantur in choreis*—She daunced not with silence and modestie, as the common people suppose, but she daunced as others vsed to daunce, with signes and outward gesture, &c. ; but how-soeuer she daunced it was euill, as the effect and fruite thereof declareth. Thus you may perceyue what fruites you shall gather of this tree. Very well it is noted in Maister Rodolphus Gualter vpon this, what fruites come hereof : *Inflammatum enim libidinis igne concupiscentia, datur scortandi et mæchandi occasio, officij et conditionis suæ obliuiscuntur, qui mundo mori, et Deo vni viuere debebant : accedunt sermones lasciuij, promissiones inconsideratæ, amantium obtestationes, et periuria, et frequentes rixæ et pugnæ incidunt, quas non raro cædes miserabiles comitari solent*—Concupiscence is inflamed (by dauncing) with the fire of lust and sensualitie ; it giueth occasion to whoredome and adulterie ; it maketh men forget and neglect their duties and seruices, whiche ought to die to the world, and liue to God : there are present wanton talkes and communications, vnaduised and rashe promises, taking God's name to witnesse in vaine of the louers, whereby perjurie is committed, and many times happeneth brawlings and fightings, by the which oftentimes miserable murthers are wont to be committed and done. Sebastian Brant also sayth :

Rodolphus
Gualter, in
Marc. hom.
51, cap. 6

Sebast. Brant.
lib. Stultifer.
nauis

Such blinde follies and inconuenience
Engender great hurt and incommodie,
And soweth seede, whereof groweth great offence,
The ground of vice, and of all enormitie ;

In it is pride, foule lust, and lecherie ;
 And while lewde leapes are vsed in the daunce,
 Oft frowarde bargaines are made by countenance.

Youth. There doth happen no such thing as you speake of in our daunces, &c. that lust is thereby inflamed in them that daunce.

Age. If it be so, why then doe not men daunce with men, apart from the women, by themselues? and why do not the women and maydes daunce by themselues? Why are men desirous more to daunce rather with this woman than with that woman? And why are women so desirous rather to choose this man than that man to daunce withall, before all the residue, but onely to declare thereby howe they are inflamed eche to other in filthie concupiscence and lust. And I am assured that none of you (which are dauncers) can denie this to be true, for that eche of you haue and doe daily feele in your selues this inflammation, whensoever you daunce together, man and woman.

Youth. Still I maruaile why you speake against dauncing, as againste things which are of their owne nature euill, and prohibited by the lawe of God, &c.

Age. I say to thee, my sonne, agayne, that things are not alwayes to be weyged by their owne nature, but by the disposition and abuse of our fleshe. We cannot deny but that wyne of his owne nature is good, which yet is not giuen to one that is in an ague; not the wyne is euill, but because it agreeth not with a bodie that is in that maner affected. So the people of Israell made a calfe of their golden earrings, to worship it, they sate down to eate and drinke, and rose vp to play, that is to daunce: as Lyra sayth, *cantabant in choro*; they didde sing in the daunce. And Thomas de Aquino sayth: *Surrexerunt ludere, id est, ludos facere sicut choreas*: they rose vp to play, that is, (sayth he) they made playes

Exod. 32, 6
 1 Cor. 10, 7

Lyra in
 1 Cor. 10,
 Thos. de
 Aquino in
 1 Cor. 10

August.
ad frat. in
Erund.
serm. 33

after the maner of daunces, &c. So that you may see hereby, that these daunces are euill also in their owne nature, whereby good natures many times are corrupted by them, as appeareth by the effectes, both by Iohn Baptist, and also by the children of Israell; and therefore I may saye of it, as Augustine sayde of drunkennesse, *Saltatio est blandus dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum*: that is, dauncing is a flattering deuill, a sweet poyson, and a pleasant sinne, which will bring in the ende vtter destruction to them that vse it (if they repent not).

And where you say, it is not against God's commaundmentes, that is false. Doth not the Lorde, in his lawe, commaunde that ye should not couet the wife, maid, or seruant of your neighbors, &c? Much lesse, then, that

Exod. 20, 17

thou shouldest consent to thy concupiscence, that thou shouldest drawe and choose hir to thy selfe, to bee thy fellowe dauncer, which to doe is not lawfull for thee.

Math. s. 28

Also when Christ sayde, He hath committeth adulterie already in his heart, that looketh on a woman to lust after hir; what then shall we say of them, that not onely with wanton countenances and filthie talke allure them, but also embrace them with their armes, handle them, and by all meanes prouoke thereby the burning

Math. 3, 10

lust of concupiscence with their vayne kissings? Therefore, Christe sayeth: That tree which bringeth forth no good fruite shal be hewen downe, and cast into the fire.

Eccle. 9, 11

Syrach sayth: Sit not at all with another man's wife, neyther lye with hir vpon the bed, nor banket with hir, least thine heart incline vnto hir, and so through thy desire fall into destruction. What hurt then ensueth hereof, flat against the lawe of God, who seeth not?

Youth. You speake this as of yourselfe alone; for I beleue none of the auncient fathers euer did speake against dauncing, or that it hath bene forbidden by any counsels, or mislyked by anye good men, or bye anye good examples that you are able to shewe and bring forth:

therefore, I wonder much of your straite order of talke against our dauncing in these our dayes. I suppose it is bicause you are aged, and nowe are not able to doe as other yong men and women do, and this maketh you to enuy it so much.

Age. Every truth is to be beleueed ; but euery beliefe doth not iustifie, neither shall your beliefe in this point. The cause why I speake against dauncing is verye euill gathered of you : my age is not the cause, nor my inhabilitie the reason thereof ; but the cause that moueth me thus to speake against dauncing is the worde of God, whereon my conscience, talke, and iudgment is grounded, which worde is so pure and cleane, that it cannot abyde anye impuritie or vn honestie (which in your dauncings want none, as I haue already declared vnto you). And wheras you say, that I speake of my selfe alone, without authoritie, is vntrue ; for I haue already by the authoritie of holy scriptures disproued it ; which authoritie of itselfe is sufficient, and to be preferred before all authorities of men, whatsoeuer they are. *S. Heirome sayth : Quod de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur :* that what hath no authoritie out of the Scriptures, may be as easily denied as affirmed. Yet, notwithstanding, I will proue by the ancient fathers, counsels, and many examples, that your dauncings are euill, and therefore they inueyed, and decreed against it. If I can declare this to you, then your beliefe (that you speake of) is vayne, and grounded vpon your owne ignorance ; otherwise you would haue set your finger vpon your mouth.

Youth. I pray you let me heare it, and then I will beleuee it.

Age. To beleue is the gift of God, and not of your owne power ; therefore, you haue not spoken well in so saying.

Youth. I pray you, beare with me herein, for it was

Hieron. in
Math. cap. 23

John 6, 20
Luc. 17, 5
Phil. 1, 29

spoken (I confesse) very vnaduisedly : therefore I beseech you say on.

Ambros de
virgin, lib. 3,
ad Marcell,
sororem suam

Age. Saint Ambrose sayth (writing to his sister Marcellina) myrth ought to bee in a cleare conscience and a good mynde, and not in spiced bankets, and wedding feastes full of minstellsie ; for therein shamefastnesse is yll defended, and vnlawfull abusion suspected, where the last ende of pleasure is dauncing, from which I desire all virgins of God to kepe themselues. For no man (as a certaine wise man of the Paganes sayth) daunceth if he be sober, except he be madde. Nowe then, if that either drunkennesse or madnesse be reckoned to be the cause of dauncing among the Paganes, what then shall we counte to be commanded in the holy Scriptures, where we reade that Saint John Baptist (the messenger of Christ) was put to death at the pleasure of a dauncing wench ? By the which thing we may take example, that this vnlawfull pastime of dauncing hath bene cause of more hurt than the phrensie of robbers and murtherers. This dedly feast was prepared with a kingly largenesse and excesse, and watch layde when the company was at the most ; and then the daughter, which was hidde vp before in secret, was brought forth to daunce before the people. What coulde the daughter learn more than hir mother (which was an harlot) but to lose hir honestie ? For nothing inclineth folke more to bodilie lust, than by vncomely mouing and gesture, to shewe the operation of these parts which eyther nature hath hydde secretely, or good maner and nurture hath couered ; or to play casts with hir eye, or shake the neck, or swinge hir armes and heare. Wherefore, they must needes fall into offence against the maiestie of God ; for what honestie can be kepte there where dauncing is ? So then the king, delighted with that pastime, bid hir aske what soeuer she would, &c. Thus farre Saint Ambrose. S. Chrysostome sayth (speaking of the dauncing of Herodias

Chrisost. in
Math. ca. 14

daughter before Herod) At this daye, Christians doe deliuer to destruction not halfe their kingdomes, or another man's heade, but euen their owne soules; for where as wanton dauncings are, there the deuill daunceth together with them; in such daunces his seruants delight. God gaue vs not feete to daunce with camels, but that we shoulde be companions with angels. Ye haue hearde (sayth he) of mariages (intreating of the mariage of Jacob) but not of daunces, which are very deuilishe, &c. for the bridgroom and the bryde are both corrupted with dauncing, and the whole familie defiled.

Chrisost. in
Gen. hom. 56

Thou seest and redest of mariages (sayth he) but seest and redest of no daunces in holy scripture.

Chrysost.
hom. 48

Saint Augustine sayth, It is much better to dygge all the whole day, than to daunce (vpon the Sabbaoth daye). Againe he sayth, It is better that women should picke wool or spinne vpon the Sabbaoth day, than they should daunce impudently and filthily all the day long vpon the dayes of the new moone.

August. in
Psal. 32

August. de
decem. cordis,
cap. 3

Erasmus sayth, And when they be wearie of drinking and banketting, then they fall to reuelling and dauncing. Then, whose minde is so well ordered, so sadde, stable, and constant, that these wanton dauncings, the swinging of the armes, the sweet sound of the instruments, and feminine singing, woulde not corrupt, ouercome, and vtterlye molifie? Yea, and further, the ballades that they sing be such, that they woulde kindle vp the courage of the olde, and cold Laomedon and Nestor. And when the minstrells doe make a signe to stinte, then, if thou doe not kiss hir that thou leading by the hande didst daunce withall, then thou shalt be taken for a rusticall, and as one without anye good maners and nurture. What filthie actes hereby (sayeth he) are committed; therefore, as thou desirest thine owne wealth, looke that thou flee and eschewe this scabbed and scuruie companie of dauncers.

Erasm. Roter.
in lib. de cos.
temptu mundi
cap. 7

Erudit. mulie-
ris christianæ
li. 1, cap. 14

Eodem libro.
cap. 13

Ludouicus Vives, a learned man, sayth : Loue is bred by reason of company, and communication with men ; for among pleasures, feastings, laughing, dauncing, and voluptuousnesse, is the kingdom of Venus and Cupide : and with these things folkes myndes be entised and snared, and especially the women, on whome pleasure hath sorest dominion. O woman ! (sayth he) howe miserably art thou entangled of that company ! howe much better hadde it bene for thee to haue bidden at home, and rather to haue broken a legge of thy bodye, than a legge of thy minde ! Againe he sayth, Some maydes doe nothing more gladly, and be taught also with great diligence both of father and mother ; that is, to daunce cunningly. Feastings out of time, and pleasant sportes, and delicate pastime bringeth alwayes dauncing in the last ende ; so that dauncing must needes be the extreme of all vices. But wee now in christian countries haue schools of dauncing, howbeit that is no wonder, seeing also we haue houses of baudrie. So much the Paganes were better and more sadde than we be, they neuer knew this newe fashion of dauncing of ours ; and vncleanly handlings, gropings, and kissings, and a very kindling of lechery, whereto serveth all that bussing, as it were, pigeons, the birds of Venus.

What good doth all that dauncing of yong women, holding vpon menes' armes that they may hop the higher ? What meaneth that shaking vnto midnight, and neuer weary ; which, if they were desired to go but to the next church, they were not able, except they were caried on horsebacke, or in a chariot ? who would not think them out of their wittes ?

I remember (saith he) that I heard one vpon a time say, that there were certayne men brought out of a farre cuntry into our partes of the worlde, which, when they sawe women daunce, they ran away wonderouslie afraide,

crying out, that they thought the women were taken with an vncoth kynde of phrensie: and to saye good sooth, who woulde not reckon women frantiecke when they daunce, if hee had neuer seene woman daunce before?

And it is a world to see, howe demurely and sadly some sit beholding them that daunce; and with what gesture, pace, and mouing of the bodie, and with what sober footing some of them daunce: wherein also a man may espie a great part of their follie, that go about to handle such a foolishe and madde thing so sadlye; neyther see themselves haue a matter in hande without anye wisdome, nor anye thing worth, but as Cicero sayth, a companion of vices. What holy woman did wee euer reade of that was a dauncer? or what woman nowe-a-dayes (that is sadde and wyse) will be knowne to haue skill of dauncing, &c.? For what chastitie of bodie and minde can be there, where they shall see so many mens bodies, and haue their myndes entised by the windowes of their eyes, and by the meanes of the most subtyll artificer, the deuill. Thus farre Ludouicus Vives.

Maister Marlorat (a famous man) sayth, Whatsoeuer they are that haue had anye care of grautie and honestie, haue utterly condemned this filthie dauncing, and especially in maidens.

Marlorat in
Math. cap. 14

Maister Bullinger sayth: There followeth (in feastings) vnshamfast dauncing which is the roote of all filthinesse and wantonnesse.

Bullinger in
Mat. cap. 14

Maister Rodolphus Gualter, an excellent learned man, sayth: Dauncings (sayth he), which we now a dayes vse, came from the Gentiles and heathens first vnto us, when as they vsed alwayes at celebrating of their sacrifices to doe it with dauncings vnto their false gods; which the Israelites seemed to imitate, when as they daunced about the golden calfe, &c. Afterwards, this dauncing began

Rodolphus
Gualterus in
Marc. cap. 6,
hom. 51

to be vsed publicly in playes, before the face of the people, of whome afterwarde the women learned it, and exercised it, least they should be accounted no bodie. Then, when shame and honestie began to decay, women also, and maydens, vsed to daunce, and had their proper daunces appointed them. At last, (when all shame indeed was passed) by reason of the long vse and time of their dauncing, this encreased and went forward, that men and women, being mixed, daunced together: of which there can be no more vncomlynnesse shewed, than to see men and women daunce together, hande in hande, to leade and carie them about, that the beholders of them may see the quicknesse and agilitie of their bodies, by wanton mouings and gestures. Contrarie to that, Saint

1 Thes. 5, 22 Paule sayth: Abstaine from all appearance of euill, &c., and that no filthynesse, neyther foolishhe talking, neyther

Ephe. 5, 3, 4 feasting, which are things not comely, neyther fornication and all vncleanlinesse, or couetousnesse, be once named among you, as becometh saintes, &c. By these dauncings concupiscence is inflamed with the fire of carnall lust; thereof also commeth whoredomes and adulterie, neglecting of our duties and seruices to God and man. By dauncing commeth filthie talke and communications, vnadvised promises, craftie bargaines and contractes, perjuries, brawlings, and fightings, and many times mischievous murthers are wont to be done in dauncings, &c.

M. Caluin, in
Psal. 30

Maister Caluin, vpon these wordes of Dauid, Thou hast turned my mourning into dauncing, &c., sayth: By the worde (dauncing) there is not ment euery maner of wanton or ruffianly leaping and frisking, but a sober and holy vtterance of gladnesse, such as the holy scripture maketh mention of, when Dauid conueyed the arke of couenant into his place.

M. Caluin, in
lib. cap. 21
serm. 79

He, writing vpon these words, They send forth their little ones like shepe, and their children daunce: they

play vpon the tabor and the harpe, &c. sayth : We see it is no noueltie in the children of this world to excede measure in the vanities which God condemneth, as in dauncing, and suche other like loosenesse. It hath bene so at all times ; for the deuil (all whose driftes tende to blinde men, and to drawe them from the regarding of God, and from the spirituall lyfe) hath had these knacks from time to time, and men haue willinglie followed that which they haue lyked of, and which pleased the flesh. Therefore, whereas nowe a dayes we see many seeke nothing but to royst it, insomuche as they haue none other countenance, but in seeking to hoppe and daunce like stray beasts, and doe such other like things. Let vs understande that it is not of late beginning, but that the deuil hath raygned at all times : howbeit, let vs know also, that the euil is neuer the more to be excused for the auncientnesse of it. Men haue alwayes done so : yea, and that was bicause the deuill hath alwayes reigned : but must God, therefore, be quite dispossessed ?

Musicke of itself cannot be condemned ; but for as much as the worlde doth almost alway abuse it, we ought to be so much the more circumspect : we see at this daye that they which vse musicke doe swell with poyson against God ; they become hard hearted ; they will haue their songs, yea, and what maner of songs ? Full of all villainie and ribauldrie ; and afterwarde they fall to dauncing, which is the chiefeest mischiefe of all, for there is alwayes such vnchaste behaiour in dauncing, that of itself, and as they abuse it, (to speak the truth in one worde) it is nothing but an enticement to whore-dome.

Wherefore, we ought to take warning to restrayne ourselues ; and whereas we see they are manye whose whole delighte is to seeke such pastimes, let us saye, a mischiefe on them ! And if we will not haue the same curse

Cal. in Iob.
in his 80 serm.
vpon the 23
cap.

In his 70 serm.
vpon the 21
cap.

to light vpon ourselues, let vs learn to absent ourselues from such loose and wanton pastimes : but let vs rather aduisedly restryne ourselues, and set God alwayes before our eyes, to the ende that hee may blesse our myrth, and wee so vse his benefits, as we may neuer cease to trauaile vp heauenwarde : so must we apply all our myrth to this ende, namelye, that there may bee a melodie sounding in vs, whereby the name of God may be blessed and glorified in our Lorde Iesus Christ.

Henricus
Cornelius
Agrippa

To musicke belongeth the arte of dauncing, very acceptable to maydens and louers ; which they learn with great care, and without tediousnesse doe prolong it vntil midnight, and with great diligence doe deuise to daunce with framed gestures, and with measurable paces to the sound of the cymball, harpe, or flute, and doe, as they thinke, very wisely, and subtilly, the fondest thing of all other, and little differing from madnesse ; whiche, except it were tempered with the sounde of instrumentes, and as it is saide, if vanitie did not commend vanitie, there should be no sight more ridiculous, nor more out of order than dauncing. This is a libertie to wantonnesse, a friend to wickednesse, a prouocation to fleshlye lust, enemie to chastitie, and a pastyme vnworthye of all honest persons. There oftentimes a matrone (as Petracha sayth) hath lost hir long preserved honour : oftentimes the unhappie mayden hath there learned that whereof she had been better to be ignorant : there the fame and honestie of many women is lost. Infinite from thence haue returned home vnchast, many with a doubtfull minde, but none chaste in thought and dede : and we haue often seene that womanlike honestie in dauncing hath bene thrown downe to the ground, and alwayes vehemently prouoked and assaulted ; yet some of the Greeke writers haue commended it, as they haue many filthie and wicked things. But it is no maruaile that the Greekes doe

in this sorte studie philosophie, which haue made the goddes authors of adultery, of whoredome, of murther, and finally of all wickednesse. They haue written manye bookes of dauncing, in which is containd all the kindes, qualities, and measures, and haue reckoned vp the names of them, and of what sorte euery one of them should be, and who inuented it; wherefore, I will speake no further of them. The auncient Romaines, graue men by reason of their wisdome and authoritie, did refuse all dauncing, and no honest matrone was commended among them for dauncing.

Dauncing is the vilest vice of all, and truly it cannot easily be saide what mischiefes the sight and the hearing doe receiue hereby, which afterwarde be the causes of communication and embracing. They daunce with disordinate gestures, and with monstrous thumping of the feete, to pleasant soundes, to wanton songs, to dishonest verses: maydens and matrones are groped and handled with unchast handes, and kissed, and dishonestly embraced; and the things which nature hath hidden, modestie couered, are then oftentimes, by meanes of lasciuiousnesse, made naked, and ribauldrie, vnder the colour of pastyme, dissembled: an exercise, doubtlesse, not descended from heaven, but by the deuilles of hell deuised, to the iniurie of the Diuinitie, when the people of Israel erected a calfe in the desert, whiche, after they had done sacrifice, began to eate and drinke, and afterwarde rose vp to sport themselues, and singing, daunced in a rounde.

I coulde alledge you manye more, if I thought these did not satisfie your minde.

Youth. Satisfie, quoth you; yea, I assure you they haue euen cloyed me, and filled me to the full: I neuer hearde so many worthy fathers alledged, as you haue done, both of olde and later writers, against dauncing, which begyn-

neth to make me loathe, and euen detest this vice of filthie dauncing. Yet, for promise sake, I pray you let me hear what counsell, and examples there are against this dauncing.

Conc. Laodiceense, ca. 51

Age. In the counsell of Laoditia (holden in the yeare of our Lorde God, 364, vnder Pope Liberius) it was decreed thus: It is not meete for Christian men to daunce at their mariages. Let them dyne and suppe grauely, giuing thanks vnto God for the benifite of mariages. Let the clergie aryse and go their wayes, when the players on their instruments (whiche serue for dauncing) doe begynne to playe, least by their presence they shoulde seeme to allowe that wantonnesse.

Concilium Ilerdense

In this counsell (which was holden in the time of Theodoricus the king) it was decreed, namely, that no Christian should daunce at anye mariages, or at anye other time. Iustinian, the emperour, made a decree, saying: We wyll not haue men giue themselues vnto voluptuousnesse; wherefore it shall not be lawfull in the feast dayes to vse any dauncings, whether they be for lustes sake, or whether they be done for pleasures sake.

Iustinian in code, titu. de forijs, in lege die fest

Emil. Probus

Emelius Probus (in the lyfe of Epeminonda) sayeth: That to sing and to daunce was not very honorable among the Romaines, when the Grecians had it in great estimation.

Salust

Salust writeth, that Sempronia (a certayne laciuous and vnchast woman) was taught to sing and daunce more elegantlye than became an honest matrone; saying, also, that singing and dauncings are the instruments of lecherie.

Cicero, lib. 3 de officiis

Cicero sayth, that an honest and good man will not daunce in the market place, although he might by that meanes come to great possessions. And in his oration (that he made after his returne into the senate) he calleth Aulus Gabinius, in reproache, *saltator calamistratus*, a

fine, mincing dauncer. It was so objected to Lucius Murena for a great fault, bicause he had daunced in Asia. The same thing also was objected vnto the king Deiotarus. Also Cicero, answering for Murena, sayd : No man daunceth being sober, vnlesse peraduenture he be madde, neyther being alone, neyther in the fieldes, neyther yet at a moderate and honest banket : he did vpbraide and cast Anthonie in the teeth for his wicked dauncing. The poet Brant sayth :

Sebast. Brant
in stultifera
nauis

Than dauncing in earth no game more damnable,
It seemeth no peace, but battaile openly.
They that it vse of mynde seeme vnstable,
As madde folke running with clamour, shout, and crie.
What place is voyde of this furious folly?
None ; so that I doubt within a while,
These follies the holy church shall defile.

Youth. You haue alledged strong authorities agaynste this dauncing, whereby I doe taste howe bitter it is vnto me, for I perceyue by you, howe full of filthinesse and wickednesse it is.

Age. It is moste certayne, that it is full of all wickednesse : therefore, come you away from it, and vse it no more, nor haue you anye pleasure in suche workes of filthinesse : as the olde saying is,

2 Cor. 6, 17
Esay. 52, 11

He that will none euill do,
Must do nothing belonging therto.

Saint Augustine sayth : *Nam qui gehennas metuit, non peccare metuit sed ardere ; ille autem peccare metuit, qui peccatum ipsum sicut gehennas odit. Tantum porro quisque peccatum odit quantum iustitiam diligit ;* He that feareth hell feareth not to sinne but to burne ; therefore, he feareth to sinne that hateth the very sinne it selfe as he hateth hell. So much doth euery man,

August. in
Epist. 144

therefore, hate sinne as he loueth righteousness. So Horace sayth: The wicked feareth to sinne, bicause of punishment; the godly man hateth to sinne, for the loue of vertue, according to this saying:

If I knewe that God would forgiue sinne,
and that men shoulde not knowe it,
Yet for the vilenesse of sinne
I woulde not commit it.

Youth. These your sayings haue pierced my hearte, and done me very much good; I pray God that I may followe this good counsell of yours, for I see nowe that we must and ought to walke in a vertuous life and conuersation that are baptised into Jesus Christ.

Age. You haue sayde right; and therefore you must vnderstande that there bee three kindes of liues. One is occupied in action and doing; the seconde in knowledge and studie; the third in oblectation and fruition of pleasures and wanton pastimes: of which the last kinde of lyfe, delicious, voluptuous, or giuen to pleasures, is beast-like, brutishe, abject, vile, vnworthy the excellencie of man. Therefore, Paule sayth vnto all suche as are come to the knowledge of Christ: The night is past, and the day is at hande; let vs therefore cast away the workes of darknesse, and let vs put on the armour of light. So that we walke honestly as in the daye tyme, not in ryot and drunkennesse, neyther in chambering and wantonnesse, nor in striuing and enuying, &c. neyther in filthinesse, neyther foolishe talking, neyther ieasting, which are not comely, but rather giuing of thanks. It is sufficient (sayth Saint Peter) that wee haue spent the tyme past of our lyfe after the lustes of the Gentiles, walking in wantonnesse, lustes, drunkennesse, in gluttonie, drinkings, and in abominable ydolatries. Therefore (sayth he) let vs henceforwarde liue (as much time as remayneth in

Rom. 6, 4

Rom. 3, 12

13

Ephes. 5, 4

1 Pet. 4, 3
Ephes. 4, 23

the flesh) not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God; and whatsoever we doe, let vs doe all to the glorie 1 Cor. 10, 31 of God.

Youth. O Lorde! howe beastly they are which are ledde by the sensualitie and pleasures of the fleshe!

Age. It is very true, my sonne, for so sayth Saint 1 Pet. 2, 12 Peter, that those as brute beastes, ledde with sensualitie, and made to be taken and destroyed, speake euill of those things whiche they knowe not, and shall perish through their owne corruption; and shall receyue the wages of vnrighteousnesse, as they which count it pleasure to liue deliciouslye for a season: spottes they are and blottes, delighting themselues in their deceyuings and feasting.

Youth. What can be more plainly spoken and said against dauncing, than is alreadye spoken and alledged by you? I thanke God, it hath done me much good; more than I am able to vtter.

Age. What woulde these fathers say now, if they were presently aliue, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare daye and light of the Gospell? What Sabboth dayes, what other days are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpassed without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toyes shall not a man see among them? What vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that maye kindle Cupid's desire? — truly none. Through this dauncing many maydens haue been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse nightwatchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's groundes, and bring them home into their parishe with minstrels playing before? and

when they haue set it vp, they will decke it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men and women together, moste vnseemely and intolerable, as I haue proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp, &c.

Youth. I maruayle much that the magistrates doe suffer this to be vsed, especially where the gospell is daily taught and preached.

Age. It is greatly to be maruayed at indede. But I may say, as S. Paule sayd to the Romaines, These men, which knew the lawe of God, how that they which commit such things are worthy of death, yet not onely doe the same, but also fauour them that doe them; which you know is as much as to consent to them, which is the full measure of all iniquitie, as the prophete Esay sayth :
 Thy rulers are rebellious, and companions of theeues, &c. Also you shall oftentimes see what graue women (yea, such as their either husbands are, or haue borne offices in a common weale) and others that make much of their paynted sheathes, vse to daunce It is for their recreation, forsooth, (say they) and then it is a worlde to see, nay, a hell to see, howe they will swing, leape, and turne when the pypers and crowders begin to play, as if they had neyther wisdom, grauitie, chastitie, sobrietie, honestie, or discretion : in such sort doe they vse themselues in these wanton and vnchaste dauncings, that I cannot tell whether that Democritus hath more cause to laugh at their follies, than Heraclitus to weepe at their miseries. The poet sayth :

Sebast. Bran.
 lib. Stulticie
 nauis

To dauncing come children, maydes, and wiues,
 And flattering yong men to seeke to haue their pray.
 The hand in hand great falshood oft contriues.
 The olde queane also this madnesse will assay,

And the olde dotarde, though he scantly may
 For age and lamenesse stirre eyther foote or hande,
 Yet playeth he the foole with other in the bande.

What newe kinde of daunces, and newe deuised gestures the people haue deuised, and daylye doe deuise, it will grieue chaste eares to heare it, good eyes to see it, or tongue to vtter it; so that it may truly be verified that the wyse man sayth,

He that will seeke for a dauncing place
 Shall finde there all maners that lacketh grace.

Youth. God graunt that we may leaue this filthie vyce of dauncing among all the rest, and that the magistrates and rulers may in such sort cut downe this wicked vice that it may be no more vsed and exercised; and set sharpe punishment for the vsers and teachers thereof as is most meete for them, so as God may be glorified, and sinne abandoned.

Age. You haue made a very good prayer, which I praye also vnto God it may take effect for his mercies sake. Amen.

Youth. Nowe, giue me to vnderstande, I praye you, good father Age, what aunswere shall I make vnto them that will alledge and say, there must be some pleasures in our life and pastimes, whereby we may be recreated, and our wits refreshed, that are wearied with toyle, labour, and studie.

Age. You must graunt them that; but in the meantime they must be admonished that there are other pleasures more religious and honest: as Saint Paule sayth, Speake vnto yourselues in psalmes and hymnes and spirituall songs, singing and making melodie to the Lorde in your heartes. Agayne he sayth: Let the worde of God dwell in you plenteously in all wisdom, Ephe. 5, 19
Colos. 3, 16

teaching and admonishing your owne selues in psalmes, &c., singing to the Lorde with grace in your hearts. Also Saint James sayth : Is any among you afflicted ? let him pray. Is any merie ? let him sing. Saint Tertullian sayth, that Christians vsed assemblies together to their moderate shorte suppers, and, when they were refreshed with meat, they sang diuine prayses, or recited something out of the holy scriptures, prouoking one another by them, and by this meanes they returned home soberlye. So Syrach sayth : Stande vp betimes, and be not the last ; but get thee home without delay, and there take thy pastime, and doe what thou wilt, so that thou doe no euill, or vse prowde wordes. But, aboue all things, giue thanks vnto him that hath made thee, and replenished thee with his goodes, &c.

There are other honest pleasures as problemes, wherewith the wittes may be exercised and refreshed. There are notable histories, as the Actes and Monuments of the Church, made by that good and blessed man, maister John Foxe. For hystories (sayth Cicero) is a witnessse of tymes, the light of truth, the life of memorie, the mystresse of lyfe, the messenger of antiquitie, &c. Those prayses certainly are great, and yet they agree not with euery kynde of hystories, but with those onely in which these rules are obserued ; namely, that it sette forth no lyes, or bee afrayde to tell the truth, &c. whiche, in my conscience, neuer none wrote a more true and faythfull hystorie, than maister John Foxe hath (whatsoever the carping Papistes prate and say to the contrarie) so that I say to you, there is no hystorie so slender which is not verye much profitable for some parte of man's life.

But, aboue all, let them reade the holy Scriptures, and exercise themselues therein daye and night, &c. Saint Chrysostome sayth : He that is ignorant shall finde to learne there ; he that is stubborne, and a sinner, may

Iam. 5, 13

Tertul. in
Apologetico

Eccl. 32, 12,
13, 14

Cic. lib. de
Oratore

Psal. 1, 2
Deut. 6, 6
Iosua, 1, 8
Prou. 6, 20
Chrysost. in
Mat. 22, ho. 4

finde there scourges; he that is troubled, may finde there ioyes, and comfort of eternall life, &c. It is a sea (sayth Gregorie) for elephants to swimme in, and the sillye lambe to walke in, &c. These are the exercises, that we ought to take our repast and pleasure in all the dayes of our lyfe, &c. Plato sayth that the life of a philosopher is the meditation of death: the like I may say that the lyfe of a Christian man is a perpetuall studie and exercise of mortifying the fleshe vntill it be vtterly slaine, the spirit getting the dominion in us. Grego. ad Leandram

Youth. These are very good and godly exercises, and necessarie to be vsed in these daungerous dayes, wherein wee nowe lyue.

Age. Indeeде, if they doe consider the daungerous times that we are in, they haue little cause to vse those follies, for instead of playing, they would vse praying; insteade of dauncing, repenting; for ioye, sorrowe; for laughing, mourning; for myrth, sadnesse; for pride, patience; for wantonnesse, wofulnesse, &c. Is it now (thinke you) a time to be mery, dice, daunce, and playe, seeing before our eyes howe the blouddie Papistes murther and slaughter in all places rounde aboute vs our poore brethren that professe the gospell of Jesu Christ? Christ wept over Jerusalem for his eminent and imminent destruction, and doe we laugh at our brethren's destruction? 2 Kin. 5, 10
Luc. 19, 41

Christ sayde to the Jewes: Suppose ye that those Galileans were greater sinners than all the other Galileans, bicause they haue suffered such things? I tell you nay; but, excepte you amende your liues, ye shall all likewyse perishe. So I saye to thee, Englande: Dost thou suppose that those Frenchmen whiche were cruellye murdered, and vnnaturallie slaughtered by the bloudye and vnmercifull Papistes in Fraunce, were greater sinners than thou art? I tell thee nay; but, excepte thou, Eng- Luc. 13, 2
Exod. 21

Esay. 5, 18
2 Peter, 3, 4
Eccl. 4, 17

lande, amende thy manners, and bring forth better fruites of the gospell, thou wilt likewise perishe also: for thou drawest iniquitie with cordes of vanitie and sinne, as with carte roapes; and yet as Saloman sayeth, They knowe not that they doe euill.

God graunte to open the eyes of Englande, that it maye see his sinnes, and be ashamed thereof, and fall to repentaunce, and to rent their heartes, and not their garmentes, and turne to the Lorde God, for he is gracious and mercifull, &c. Lette the people, therefore, be gathered together, sanctifie the congregation, gather the elders, assemble the children, and those that sucke the breastes; let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and hys bryde out of hir bryde chamber; let the priestes, the ministers of the Lorde weepe betweene the porche and the altare, and let them saye, Spare thy people (O Lorde), and gyue not thyne heritage into reproche, that the heathen papistes should reygne ouer vs. Wherefore shoulde they saye among the people, Where is their God?

Mica 7, 10
Psal. 42, 10

Youth. You haue made a goodlye prayer, and the Lorde graunt it may take effecte in vs all. But I feare me it is as it was in the tyme of Abraham; whyles he prayed, the people played; whyles he wept, they laughed; whyles he desired, they deferred; and whyle he perswaded God, they daylye prouoked God to anger, &c.

Ec. 19, 22, 23

Age. Yet, my sonne, Abraham left not to pray for them, neyther ought we; for no doubt but God hath his children among the wicked of this world, as he had Lot among the Sodomits, Abdias with Achab and Iesabel, Nichodemus among the Pharises, Matthew and Zacheus among the toll-takers, Paule among the persecuting lawyers and scribes, &c.

1 Kings, 19,

Youth. Truly, good father, I see that as they vsed Lot so are the preachers now vsed; for the more they call

them backe from playing and dauncing, the faster they runne forward, the harder they crye, the deafer they are, the more they loue them, the worse they hate them.

Age. That is lamentable that the preachers are become their enimies for telling them truth, and their foes for helping them. The old saying is true, *Veritas odium parit*; truth getteth hatred. Yet they must not leaue off to preach the word continually, in season and out of season, improue, rebuke, exhort with all long sufferings and doctrine, let them cast out the seede of God's word, and let the Lord alone with the increase thereof.

Psal. 58, 4, 5
2 Cor. 2, 15

Gala. 4, 16

2 Timo. 4, 2
Ezech. 2, 5

1 Cor. 3, 7

Youth. There was neuer more preaching and worse liuing, neuer more talking and lesse following, neuer more professing and lesse profyting, neuer more wordes and fewer deedes, neuer trewer faith preached and less workes done, than is now, which is to be lamented and sorowed.

Age. You must not, nor ought not, to impute it vnto the preaching of God's word, but vnto the wickednesse and peruerse nature of man's corruption. You knowe, my sonne, by the buds and fruits of trees times are discerned and known; so, truly, by these their fruites (which springeth of their corrupt and rotten trees of their flesh) we are taught in the scriptures that the time of haruest is at hand.

Mat. 24, 32
Luke, 21, 29
Mat. 16, 2, 3
Mat. 3, 12
Mat. 24, 37
Marke, 13, 32
Luke, 17, 28

For Christ sayth, that, as the dayes of Noe were, so likewise shall the comming of the sonne of man be: for in the days before the floude came, they did eate and drinke, mary, and gaue in mariage, plant, buy and sel, &c. and knew nothing, til the floud came and tooke them al away, &c. He sayth also, iniquitie shal be increased, and the loue of many shall abate, the preachers shal be hated and euil spoken of; they shall bee excommunicated and killed, &c. And Paul also speaketh of those fruites

Mat. 24, 12

Iohn, 16, 2,

(largely) that men shall bring forth in the last dayes, saying : This knowe also, that, in the latter days, shal come perillous times, for men shal be louers of their owne selues, couetous, boasters, proude, cursed speakers, disobedient to parents, vnthankful, vnholly, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, intemperate, fierce, despisers of them which are good, traytours, heady, high minded, louers of pleasures more than louers of God, hauing a shewe of godlinesse, &c. al which fruites wee may see euidently with our eyes, raining too much in al estats and degrees. Therefore, it is no marueyle if they hate the light of God's word, for that their deedes are so euill, and nowe made manifest to the world, for he y^t doth euill hateth y^e light, saith our Sauour Christ, &c.

Iohn, 3, 19

Youth. Truly you haue declared their fruites, wherby we may easily gather that the day of iudgement is not far off; but al this while they passe not for any exhortations, nor haue any regard and consideration in the day of iudgement: for they doe imagine with themselues that there is no immortalitie of the soule, and that it is but a fable of Robyn hooode, to tel them of the day of iudgemente, and thinke death ought neuer to be remembered of them.

Age. These are the same people that Saint Peter speaketh of, saying: This first vnderstand, that there shal come in the last dayes mockers, which wil walke after their lusts, and say, where is the promise of his comming? for, since the fathers died, all things continue alike from the beginning of the creation; euen such as those epicures and atheistes which you speake of. And Syrach sheweth the reason why these wicked ones cannot abide death: O! saith he, how bitter is the remembrance of death to a man that liueth at rest in his possessions and pleasures, &c.

2 Pet. 3, 3, 4

Eccle. 41, 1

Although they vse to say (for a little time), come, let

vs inioy the pleasures y^t are present, let us al be partakers of our wantonnesse ; let vs leaue some token of our pleasure in euery place, for that is our position and this is our lot ; but one day they shal cry out and say, in bitternesse of conscience (if they repent not in time), What hath pride profyted vs ? or what profit hath the pompe of riches and pleasures brought vs ? al these things are passed away like a shadow, and as a post that passeth by. Therfore, sayth Salomon, the hope of the vngodly is like the dust y^t is blowen away with the winde, and like a thinne fome that is scattered abroad with the storme, and as the smoke that is dispersed with the winde, and as the remembrance of him passeth that tarieth but for a day ; but the righteous shal liue for euer : their reward also is with the Lord, and the most high hath care of them, &c.

Wis. 2, 6, 7,
8, 9
Wisdom, 5, 8
1 Chr. 2, 9,
15

Cap. 25

Now, my sonne Youth, time calleth me away : I wil take my leaue, and commit you to the tuition of the Almighty, for I must hasten homeward. And loke what I haue sayde to you, kepe it, and practise it all your life long : loke backe no more to filthy Sodom, least it happen to you as did to Lot's wife ; neither turne to your vomet like a dogge, neyther get to your filthy puddle and myre, like a swyne, for, if you do, your portion wil be with those that shal be shut out of God's kingdome : for if you, after you haue escaped from the filthinesse of the worlde through the knowledge of the Lord, are yet intangled again therin, and ouercome, the latter end is worse with you than the beginning, &c. Therfore be neuer obliuious, for, as the wiseman saith,

Eccle. 6, 36

Tantum scimus quantum memoria tenemus.

So much we know assuredly,
As we do hold in memory.

Eccle. 6, 36,
37

Youth. I giue you most humble thanks for your good and godly counsel and fatherly instructions; and, by God's grace, I shall hereafter hate (among al other vices) this naughty, loytering idlenesse, prodigal and wastful diceplaying, and filthy, wanton dauncing, and I wil draw and perswade as many as I can or may (by any meanes) from it likewise; and, by the grace of Jesus Christ, I shal neuer let slip out of my minde these your godly sayings and fatherly instructions, but wil write them vp in my hart.

Psal. 51, 13
Luke, 22, 32
Eccle. 6, 36

Age. If you do so, it is very wel: and, in al your actions and doings, what soeuer you take in hande, remember the ende, and you shal neuer do amisse.

Youth. God graunt that I may so do.

Age. Farewel, my son Youth, God blesse thee, and rule thee alwayes with his holy spirit in the end, and to the end.

Youth. And you also, good father, for his Christes sake. Amen.

FINIS.

Imprinted at London
by Henry Bynneman for George Bishop.

N O T E S.

P. 8, line 29, He is called a *tall* man, and a valiant man of his hands.] No more apposite quotation could perhaps be found to shew that the old meaning of "tall" was *valiant* or *courageous*. It is so used by Shakespeare and by all the writers of his time.

P. 9, line 19, Post, cente, gleke.] These are games at cards, often mentioned by old writers, and which continued long to be known by those names.

P. 9, line 20, A *lobbe*.] Shakespeare, in "Midsummer Night's Dream," act ii., sc. 1, applies the term, "thou *lob* of spirits" to Puck.

P. 10, line 1, Which he hath done, *either* intended.] This use of "either" for *or* is scriptural: "Can the fig-tree, my brethren, bear olives, *either* a vine figs."

P. 11, line 3, Yet who seeth not how *fondly*.] The most usual sense of "fondly" of old was *foolishly*, and it is of perpetual occurrence.

P. 11, line 9, And *ietting* up and downe.] i. e. *Strutting* up and down: the word was very common, probably from the French *jetter*.

P. 12, line 13, The new learning and preaching of the Gospell.] Of course referring to the Reformation, the doctrines of which were long called "the new learning."

P. 22, line 3, In wagons or *coches*.] This early mention of coaches by that name, and in association with waggons, is curious.

P. 37, line 4, God *defende* but that they shoulde be such.] It was very common at this date, and long afterwards, to use *defend* in the sense of *forbid*.

P. 49, line 13, I haue oftentimes hearde *it* affirmed.] The original, by an obvious typographical error, reads "hearde *and* affirmed."

P. 49, line 28, Of the time that wee *leese* in play.] To *leese* is an old form of to lose, and we meet with it in 1 Kings, xviii., 5: "Peradventure we may find grass to save the horses and mules alive, that we *leese* not all the beasts."

P. 52, line 35, To make one more freshe and *agilite*.] We are not aware of the occurrence of the adjective "agilite" in any other author.

P. 57, line 7, Non nobis solum, &c.] The author has already used this quotation in his preliminary address to Sir John Young.

P. 57, line 22, *Otiosos et vagos*, &c.] Our author has already availed himself of this quotation (see p. 43); but there he calls "friars flies" "friars flees," perhaps only by a misprint.

P. 57, line 29, They go ydelly a *limiting* abroad.] *Limitting* is here used for begging: the friars' limiters (or "limitours," as they were sometimes called), had a license to beg and preach within a certain district. They are often mentioned by Chaucer and our elder writers.

P. 58, line 25, And to see *hir* seruants.] *Hir* is of course misprinted for *their*.

P. 59, line 17, *Lithernesse*.] *Litherness* is found in several of our older vocabularies, but was very rarely used by writers.

P. 60, line 3, The blende eateth many a flie.] This was a proverb; and we meet with it again on p. 117. According to Henslowe's Diary, Thomas Heywood wrote a play, taking "The blind eats many a fly" for its title. His namesake, and perhaps ancestor, old John Heywood, introduces it in his rhiming collection of English proverbs.

P. 61, line 13. This fable of the crab and the oyster, told by St. Ambrose, is precisely such a tale as many of those introduced by Mr. Wright into his very learned, and not less amusing work, printed for the Percy Society, under the title of "A Selection of Latin Stories from MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries." "The preachers" (he says, in his "Introduction") of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries attempted to illustrate their texts and to inculcate their doctrines by fables and stories, which they moralized generally by attaching to them mystical significations." The later clergy, in this respect, were only the followers of some of the earlier divines and fathers.

P. 81, line 14, or *tose* okam.] To *toze*, *toaze*, or *touze*, is a Shakespearian word, and occurs in "The Winter's Tale," act iv., sc. 3.

P. 83, line 9, *Of* what sort and kynde of playes you speake *of*.] This reduplication of the preposition is exactly the contrary fault to that complained of by some of the commentators on a passage in Shakespeare's Othello, act i., sc. 3.

P. 84 (marg. note), As Plinie sayth, a *porkepine*.] This animal was more usually called a *porpentine*, and so we find it spelt in the old editions of Shakespeare's Plays, particularly in "The Comedy of Errors," act iii., sc. 2.

P. 85, line 25, He was fayne to serve a baker in turning a *querne*, or handmill.] This passage affords a very apposite illustration of a passage in "Midsummer Night's Dream," act ii., sc. 1, where the Fairy tells Puck that he is the spirit that "sometimes labours in the *querne*." The word is from the Icelandic *kuerna*, a mill.

P. 85, line 33, *The Theatre and Curtaine.*] This is a very early mention of these places erected purposely for the representation of plays. See an account of them and of their situation in the "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," vol. iii., p. 263 and 268, where the authority of Northbrooke is quoted.

P. 89, line 10, *By affections, and reasons.*] Perhaps we ought to read "by affections, *than* reasons."

P. 89, line 19, *Sad and honest men.*] *Sad*, in the language of the time, was not *sorrowful*, but *grave*, or *serious*. Of this it would be easy to accumulate many examples.

P. 89, line 27, *And she be not a stone.*] i. e. *an* she be not a stone: *an*, for *if*, was usually spelt *and*: it is so throughout all the old editions of Shakespeare, and other dramatists of the time.

P. 91, line 17, *And force not what the mind be.*] i. e. *and care not* what the mind be, an idiomatic expression frequently occurring. It is found in "Love's Labours Lost," act v., sc. 2.

P. 89, line 26, *To be hanged as a felon.*] This is a misrepresentation of the provision of the 14 Eliz. cap. 5; which was that all strolling stage-players, not acting under the name and license of a Baron, or of some nobleman of higher degree, should be considered and treated as rogues and vagabonds; those who were so protected did not fall under the penalties of the statute. The act was renewed and explained in 1595, and it was required, farther, that the different companies of players should be provided with a license, under the hand and seal of the nobleman whose theatrical retainers they professed to be.

P. 109, line 24, *That is honest, profite, and pleasantnesse.*] So the original, but no doubt we ought to correct the text, by reading "*honest*" *honesty*.

P. 114, line 21, *What say you of minstrels.*] This, and what follows, would have been a useful quotation to Ritson, in his controversy with Bishop Percy, respecting the habits and occupation of minstrels.

P. 117, line 22, *Which is compact of covetousnes.*] This use of the participle "*compact*" is an excellent illustration of the mode in which it is not unfrequently employed by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. See "The Comedy of Errors," act iii., sc. 2, &c.

P. 122, line 19, *They will never conne us thanke for it.*] To *con* thanks was an old phrase for to *give* thanks, and it is found in Shakespeare ("All's Well that Ends Well," act iv., sc. 3) and other writers, before and after his time. It seems to have gone out of use prior to the civil wars.

P. 129, line 12, *Which all is gotten with a trice.*] Or, as we now say, only using a different preposition, *in a trice*.

P. 129, line 25, As to use false and unlawful *wares*.] So the original, but possibly we ought to read *wates*, or *weights*, for “wares.”

P. 136, line 6, And *namely* diceplaying.] It was not unusual among our old writers to use “namely” for *especially* or *particularly*; it has already occurred in this sense.

P. 141, line 16, A certaine poet and a doctor of both lawes.] Sebastian Brandt in his *Stultifera Navis*, as we are informed in the margin. The work was translated into English by Alexander Barclay, under the title of “The Shyp of Follys,” and was printed by Pynson in 1509, and by Cawood in 1570.

P. 142, line 33, Charlemane, Launcelot, Hector, and such lyke names.] These and other particulars respecting the cards used in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth are not without interest.

P. 152, line 24, Marie Moses’s sister.] An obvious misprint in the original for Miriam, before mentioned.

P. 163, line 4, This maketh you to *envy* it so much.] At the date when this tract was written, and long afterwards, “envy” was almost invariably used in the sense of *hate*. Instances of the kind are innumerable in Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

Page 166, line 9, To have bidden at home.] More properly, “to have *biden* at home,” an unusual form of the participle of the verb *to bide*.

P. 175, line 32, What adoe make our young men at the time of May?] This attack upon May-games was followed up by Philip Stablees a few years afterwards, with greater vigour and much more at length. See the excellent reprint of his “Anatomie of Abuses,” made under the editorial care of W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., of Edinburgh, in 1836. The same gentleman is about to follow up the subject, by a new edition of Hall’s *Funebria Floræ* for this Society.

P. 176, line 19, Such as their either husbands are.] There is probably some misprint in this passage, which it is not very material to set right, as the meaning is pretty evident: “either” ought probably to be erased.

P. 179, line 31, Dost thou suppose that those Frenchmen whiche were cruellie murdered, &c.] Alluding to the Massacre at Paris, in 1572.

P. 182, line 18, But al this while *they passe not* for any exhortations.] An old idiomatic expression for *they heed not*, or *care not* for any exhortations. It is often met with.

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PRINTER TO H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT.

THE
SCHOOL OF ABUSE,
CONTAINING
A PLEASANT INVECTIVE
AGAINST
POETS, PIPERS, PLAYERS, JESTERS, &c.

BY
STEPHEN GOSSON.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION REGARDING THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORKS.



LONDON:
REPRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

1841.

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F. SHOBERL, JUN., 51, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET,
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INTRODUCTION.

STEPHEN GOSSON, the author of the tract reprinted on the following pages, was not the earliest literary enemy of theatrical performances in this country. That distinction belongs to John Northbrooke, whose "Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds &c. are reproved," was licensed for the press in 1577: it was printed by H. Bynneman, without date, but no doubt prior to 1579, when Gosson's "Schoole of Abuse, conteining a plesaunt Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters" &c. made its appearance. Our author, therefore, is only entitled to the second place in the attack upon the stage, although he says nothing about any predecessor. Northbrooke's work well merits at least equal attention; and on an early occasion we shall offer a careful re-impression of it to the members of the Shakespeare Society. We were led, in the first instance, to Gosson's tract, by his connection with Edward Alleyn, late in life, when Gosson was vicar of the parish in which that great actor and most benevolent man was born.

We are told by Anthony Wood, (*Athenæ Oxon.* I. 675, edit. Bliss,) that Stephen Gosson was a Kentish

man by birth, and that he was admitted a scholar of Christ Church College, Oxford, on April 4th, 1572, "aged 16, or thereabouts." Gosson was, in fact, (as appears by the registration of his death, which will be introduced hereafter,) in his 18th year; and the Oxford antiquary adds, that "he took one degree in arts, four years after his admission, left the university without completing that degree by determination, and went to the great city, where he was noted for his admirable penning of pastorals." Of his pastorals we know nothing; and certainly whatever Gosson has left behind him savours more of a satirical than of a rustic character. He became tutor in a family, and soon afterwards wrote at least three plays, some of which were acted: on p. 30 of the present republication he mentions "Catalines Conspiracies, usually brought in at the Theatre," as "a pig of his own sow;" and he elsewhere admits himself to have been the author of a comedy called "Captain Mario," and of a moral play, which had for title "Praise at Parting." He asserts that he had been "drawn like a novice to these abuses," and he entirely abandoned them before he had completed his 25th year. The subsequent pages are full of self-reproaches for the offences he had in this respect committed.

"The School of Abuse" came out in 1579; and possibly Gosson had been led to see the error of his way by Northbrooke's "Treatise," which must then have been in the hands of the puritanical readers of such productions about a year. Gosson's tract was dedicated to "Master Philip Sidney Esquier;" and we have it on

no less evidence than that of Spenser (in one of his letters to Gabriel Harvey, dated in 1580,) that Gosson "was for his labour scorned ; if, at least, it be in the goodness of that nature to scorn." Gosson was either not so scorned as to make him hesitate in the same year in dedicating to Sidney his "Ephemerides of Phialo," or the reproof he received on the occasion was not given until both those pieces had appeared.

In his "Ephemerides of Phialo" Gosson informs us that the players, having in vain applied to some members of the universities to answer his "School of Abuse," had at length found "one in London to write certain honest excuses, for so they term it, to their dishonest abuses, which I revealed." This sentence alludes to Thomas Lodge, the dramatist, who very soon afterwards published his reply to Stephen Gosson, only two copies of which are supposed to exist, both of them wanting the title-page : this mutilation was occasioned by the interference of some of the public authorities to suppress the work, and by the unwillingness of those who happened, by some chance, to obtain it to have it found in their possession in a perfect state. It consists of three divisions—the Defence of Poetry, the Defence of Music, and the Defence of Plays : in the last, Lodge speaks of Gosson not only as a writer, but as an actor of plays—a circumstance which Gosson kept in the back-ground.

No sooner had Lodge's "honest excuses" made their appearance, than Gosson set about his "Plays confuted in Five Actions," which he dedicated to Sir F. Walsingham ; but, as it is without date, we can only presume that it was not delayed beyond the autumn of

1581, or the spring of 1582. Hence we learn that a piece called "the Play of Plays," intended as a practical contradiction to Gosson and to the other enemies of dramatic representations, had been acted on one of the public stages of London. A full description of the performance, and of the course and conduct of the plot, may be seen in Collier's "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," II. 275. In his "Plays confuted in Five Actions," Gosson terms Lodge "a vagrant person, visited by the heavy hand of God," which did not come very well from Gosson, considering that he had been "a vagrant person" himself.

Lodge did not think it necessary to pursue the contest in any separate publication, and possibly none such would have obtained a licence; but when he printed his "Alarum against Usurers" in 1584, he introduced the subject incidentally, not venturing to give any hint on the title-page that it was noticed in the course of the tract. It is remarkable that the "Alarum against Usurers" is dedicated to Sidney, who had "scorned" Gosson five years before; and the reply to Gosson is contained in a preliminary address "to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court." Lodge there states, that Gosson had procured only an imperfect copy of his "Defence of Plays;" and as a proof that it was without the title-page, we may notice that Gosson attributes it to William, instead of Thomas Lodge. In how much better and more charitable a spirit Lodge wrote than his antagonist, may be judged from the subsequent passage, addressed to Gosson, at the conclusion of what Lodge advances in favour of theatrical

representations :—“ Having slandered me without cause, I will no otherwise revenge it, but by this means ; that now in public I confess thou hast a good pen, and if thou keep thy method in discourse, and leave thy slandering without cause, there is no doubt but thou shalt be commended for thy copy, and praised for thy style.”

In the mean time, the year before Lodge’s “ Alarum against Usurers” issued from the press, Philip Stubbes had published his “ Anatomy of Abuses,” which includes a division headed “ Of Stage-plays and Interludes, with their wickedness.” It is singular, therefore, that Lodge did not go a little out of his way to advert to it ; especially as the work became extremely notorious, and went through two editions in 1583, the second impression bearing date the 16th August in that year. A beautiful reprint of the work was made at Edinburgh in 1836, but unluckily it was taken from the fifth edition of 1585, which omits some curious and characteristic passages contained in the earliest impression. Stubbes was followed by Whetstone in his “ Touchstone for the Time,” appended to his “ Mirror for Magistrates of Cities,” 1584 ; but he confined his brief censure to “ the use of stage-plays on the Sabbath-day, and the abuse of them at all times,” he himself having aspired to the rank of a dramatic poet in 1578. In that year came out his “ History of Promos and Cassandra,” the story of which is the same as that of “ Measure for Measure.”

Gosson had found a powerful anonymous supporter of his opinions in the author of “ the Second and

Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres," 1580. This person, like Gosson, had also been an actor, if not an author of pieces for the stage; but one of the most remarkable of the early opponents to amusements of the kind was William Rankins, although on another account. He published his "Mirror of Monsters" in 1587, filled with the usual abuse of all persons and matters connected with theatres, and yet a very few years afterwards we find him regularly in Henslowe's pay, writing comedies and tragedies for the Earl of Nottingham's servants at the Rose Theatre. In this respect he was the converse of Stephen Gosson, and of his anonymous coadjutor, the author of "the Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres."

It is not necessary to carry this sketch farther than to mention, that the Puritans persevered in their resistance to stage-plays with great pertinacity, but with so little effect, that the number of theatres and of visitors to them increased rapidly, until near the end of the reign of Elizabeth, when Dr. Rainolds' "Overthrow of Stage-playes" came out; about which date (1599) some attempts were made to limit the number of theatres in and near London, and to restrain dramatic performances. Thomas Heywood's "Apology for Actors," the most elaborate defence of the profession, did not make its appearance until 1612: it may have been called for, by the publication, in 1610, of a coarse and violent attack on the stage, in the form of a play, under the title of "Histriomastix," which title Prynne adopted twenty-three years afterwards. The

“Refutation of the Apology for Actors,” by J. G., was delayed until 1615. Thus the contest regarding the stage and its supporters may be said to have remained undecided until the Puritans obtained greater power, and until Prynne produced his notorious volume in 1633, the composition of which occupied seven years, while he kept adding to his authorities during the four years it was in the press.

Gosson’s “School of Abuse” did not come to a second edition until 1587; but his “Ephemerides of Phialo” had been printed for the second time in 1586. At what time he was ordained does not appear; but he subsequently entered the church, and he was probably in orders when, in 1595, he wrote “Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen,” which was again printed in 1596. It is not to be wondered that it was popular, for it was composed in a smart satirical vein, and it had besides the advantage of an attractive title: it is also called, in the first impression, “A Glasse to view the Pride of vain-glorious Women, containing a pleasant Invective against the fantastical forreigne toyes, daylie used in Women’s Apparell;” and the authorship of Gosson is ascertained by the existence of a presentation copy, of the second edition of 1596, with the words *Authore Stephen Gosson*, in his own hand-writing, on the first leaf. As it is a great literary curiosity, and as this is the first time it has been mentioned as the production of so distinguished an author, we may be excused for adding some quotations from it. This “pleasant invective” (terms which Gosson applied to his “Schoole of

Abuse" seventeen years before) commences abruptly as follows:—

These fashions fonde of countrey strange,
Which English heads so much delight,
Through towne and countrie which do range,
And are imbrac'd of every wight,
So much I wonder still to see,
That nought so much amazeth me.

If they by painters cunning skill
Were prickt on walles to make them gaye;
If glasse in windowes they did fill,
Or trim'd-up puppets, children's play,
I would repute them antickes olde:
They should for me go uncontrolde.

If they on stage in stately sort,
Might jet to please the idle's eie;
If Maie-game mates for summer sport
By them in daunce disguisde might be;
They would not then deserve such blame,
Nor worke the wearers half the shame.

But when as men of lore and wit,
And guiders of the weaker kinde,
Doe judge them for their mate so fit,
That nothing more can please their mind,
I know not what to say to this,
But sure I know it is amisse.

And when sage parents breed in childe
The greedy lust of hellish toyes,
Whereby in manners they growe wilde,
And lose the blisse of lasting joyes,
I pittie much to see the case,
That we thus faile of better grace.

And when proud princokes, rascall's bratte,
In fashions will be prince's mate ;
And every Gill that keeps a catte
In rayment will be like a state,
If any cause be to complaine,
In such excesse who can refraine ?

This is much like Gosson's objurgatory prose style turned into verse ; and he afterwards proceeds to particularize some of the absurdities of the dress of the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth.

These Holland smockes, so white as snowe,
And gorgets brave, with drawn-work wrought ;
A tempting ware they are, you know,
Wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught ; &c.

These flaming heads with staring haire,
These wyers turnde like hornes of ram ;
These painted faces which they weare,
Can any tell from whence they cam ?
Don Sathan, lord of fayned lyes,
All these new fangles did devise.

These glittering cawles of golden plate,
Wherewith their heads are richly dect,
Make them to seeme an Angels mate
In judgment of the simple sect.
To peacockes I compare them right,
That glorieth in their feathers bright.

These perriwigges, ruffes, armed with pinnes,
These spangles, chaines, and laces all,
These naked paps, the Devils ginnes,
To worke vaine gazers painfull thrall :
He fowler is, they are his nets,
Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.

This starch, and these rebating props,
 As though ruffles were some rotten house ;
 All this new pelfe now sold in shops,
 In value true not worth a louse,
 They are his dogs, he hunter sharp,
 By them a thousand doth he warpe.
 This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,
 These monstrous bones that compasse armes ;
 These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,
 With them he weaveth wofull harmes.
 He fisher is, they are his baytes,
 Wherewith to hel he draweth heaps.

Masks, as they were worn by ladies of the time,
 next fall under Gosson's severe censure.

Were maskes for veiles, to hide and holde,
 As Christians did, and Turkes do use,
 To hide the face from wantons bolde,
 Small cause were then at them to muse ;
 But barring only wind and sun,
 Of verie pride they were begun.

But on each wight now are they seene,
 The tallow-pale, the browning-bay,
 The swarthy-blacke, the grassie-greene,
 The pudding-red, the dapple-graie ;
 So might we judge them toyes aright
 To keepe sweete beautie still in plight.

Hence we learn that masks were of a variety of
 colours. Of feather fans Gosson remarks :—

Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond
 To flit away the flisking flies,
 As tail of mare that hangs on ground,
 When heat of summer doth arise,
 The wit of women we might praise,
 For finding out so great an ease.

But seeing they are stil in hand,
 In house, in field, in church, in street,
 In summer, winter, water, land,
 In colde, in heate, in drie, in weet,
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

The last line affords one out of many illustrations of the custom prevalent in the time of Shakespeare, as well as before and afterwards, for the fools on the stage to be furnished with what was called a bawble, a sort of doll at the top of a short stick, which doll itself often represented a fool, surmounted by a fool's cap. Just afterwards Gosson adds,

There privie coates, by art made strong
 With bones, with paste, with such like ware,
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
 And now they harnest gallants are ;
 Were they for use against the foe,
 Our dames for Amazones might goe. &c.

These hoopes, that hippes and haunches hide,
 And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,
 As they are now in use for pride,
 So did they first beginne of paine, &c.

Our quotations are from the edition of 1596, with Gosson's autograph, which in some respects is more correct than that of 1595: for instance, in the fourth line of the preceding quotation, the first edition reads *harvest* for "harnest," which last is unquestionably right. In the ensuing stanza, against aprons, the earlier copy reads *fringed* for *fring*, and so far has the advantage over the later edition.

These apornes white of finest thrif,
 So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
 So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
 So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought,
 Were they in worke to save their cotes,
 They need not cost so many grotes, &c.

These worsted stockes of bravest die,
 And silken garters fring'd with gold;
 These corked shooes to beare them hie,
 Make them to trip it on the molde:
 They mince it with a pace so strange,
 Like untam'd heifers when they range.

The following early notice of the general employment of coaches would have served Mr. J. H. Markland for a useful quotation, in his very learned and amusing essay upon that subject in the *Archæologia*:—

To carrie all this pelfe and trash,
 Because their bodies are unfit,
 Our wantons now in coaches dash,
 From house to house, from street to street.
 Were they of state, or were they lame,
 To ride in coach they need not shame;

But being base, and sound in health,
 They teach for what are coaches make.
 Some think, perhaps, to shew their wealth:
 Nay, nay, in them they penance take;
 As poorer truls must ride in cartes,
 So coaches are for prouder hearts.

Gosson then addresses the male sex, and seriously exhorts men not to allow women to be so foolish and extravagant. Among other things he says —

Of verie love you them array
 In silver, gold, and jewels brave :
 For silke and velvet still you pay ;
 So they be trimme no cost you save.
 But think you such as joy in these
 Will covet none but you to please ?

Near the end, he apostrophizes himself, and seems to indicate that he was then in holy orders :—

Thou Poet rude, if thou be scorn'd,
 Disdaine it not ; for preachers grave
 Are still dispis'd by faces hornde,
 When they for better manners crave.
 That hap which fals on men divine,
 If thou it feele, doe not repine, &c.
 Let fearfull Poets pardon crave,
 That seeke for praise at everie lips ;
 Do thou not favor, nor yet rave ;
 The golden meane is free from trips.
 This lesson old was taught in schooles —
 It's praise to be dispraisde of fooles.

With this stanza the poem, consisting of forty-nine stanzas, concludes. We make no apology for the length of our extracts, which are highly curious and characteristic ; and as we have only been able to quote a comparatively small portion of the whole, we are very glad to see that it is the intention of the Percy Society to re-print it entire. Hitherto, Gosson's only known productions in verse were lines prefixed to Florio's *First Fruits*, 1578, to Nicholas's *History of the West Indies*, 1578, and to Kerton's *Mirror of Man's Life*, 1580. The "Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen" do him great credit as a humorous and satirical versifier. Only two copies of the work are known, and

they are of different editions, dated respectively in 1595 and 1596, 4to.

We have supposed Gosson in the church in 1595, and he certainly was so in 1598, when he published a sermon called "The Trumpet of War," calling himself on the title-page, "Parson of Great Wigborow, in Essex." From Newcourt's *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, it appears that he was instituted to the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, on the 8th of April, 1600; and, from this date, until 1616, we hear no more of him: in that year, (as has been shown in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 133,) he addressed a letter to the Founder of Dulwich College. How Gosson obtained that piece of preferment cannot perhaps be ascertained; but he kept it until his death, which took place in 1623: the entry in the parish register runs thus:—

"Mister Stephen Gosson, rector of this parish for twenty odde year past; who departed this mortal life about five of the clocke on Friday in the afternoone, being the 13th of the monthe, and buried in the night, 17 Feb: 1623, aged 69."

The papers preserved at Dulwich College in Gosson's hand-writing indicate that he was infirm six or seven years before his decease.

THE
Shoole of Abuse,

Containing a plesaunt inuective
against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers,
Iesters, and such like Caterpillers
of a Commonwelth : Setting vp
the Flagge of Defiaunce to their
mischieuous exercise, and over-
throwing their Bulwarkes, by Pro-
phane Writers, Naturall reason,
and common expe-
rience :

A discourse as plesaunt for Gen-
tlemen that fauour learning, as
profitable for all that wyll
follow vertue.

By Stephan Gosson. Stud. Oxon.

Tuscul. I.

*Mandere literis cogitationes, nec eas disponere,
nec illustrare, nec delectatione aliqua allicere
Lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis,
& otio, & literis.*

*Printed at London, by Thomas
Woodcocke. 1579.*

To the right noble Gentleman, Master Philip
Sidney, Esquier, Stephan Gosson wisheth
health of body, wealth of minde,
rewarde of vertue, aduance-
ment of honor and good suc-
cesse in godly affayres.

Caligula, lying in Fraunce with a great armye of fighting men, brought all his force on a sudden to the sea side, as though he intended to cutte over, and invade Englande: when he came to the shore, his souldiers were presently set in aray, himselfe, shipped in a small barke, weyed ancors, and lanced out. He had not played long in the sea, wafting too and fro at his pleasure, but he returned agayne, stroke sayle, gave allarme to his souldiers in token of battaile, and charged every man to gather cockles. I knowe not (right worshipful) whether my selfe be as frantike as Caligula in my proceedings, because that after I have set out the flag of defiance to some abuses, I may seeme wel ynough to strike up the drum, and bring al my power to a vayne skirmish. The title of my booke doth promise much: the volume, you see, is very little; and sithence I cannot beare out my folly by authority, like an emperoure, I will crave pardon for my phrenzye by submission, as your woorshippes too commaunde. The Schoole which I builde is narrowe, and at the first blushe appeareth but a doggehole; yet small cloudes cary water; slender threedes sowe sure stitches; little heares have their shadowe; blunt stones whette knives; from harde rockes flow soft springes; the whole world is drawen in a mappe; Homers Iliades in a nutte shell; a kinges picture in a pennye: little chestes maye hold greate

treasure ; a few cyphers contayne the substance of a riche merchant ; the shortest pamphlette may shrowde matter ; the hardest head may geve lighte, and the harshest penne may sette downe somewhat woorth the reading.

He that hath ben shooke with fierce ague giveth good counsel to his friends when he is wel. When Ovid had roaved long on the seas of wantonnesse, he became a good pilot to all that followed, and printed a carde of every daunger ; and I perswade my selfe, that seeing the abuses which I reveale, trying them thorowly to my hurt, and bearing the stench of them yet in my owne nose, I may best make the frame, found the schoole, and reade the first lecture of all my selfe, to warne every man to avoyde the perill. Wherein I am contrary to Simonides, for he was ever slowe to utter and swifte to conceale, being more sorrowefull that he had spoken, then that he had held his peace. But I accuse my selfe of discourtesie to my friendes in keeping these abuses so long secrete, and now thinke my duetie discharged in laying them open.

A good physition, when the disease cannot be cured within, thrusteth the corruption out in the face, and delivereth his patient to the chirurgion : though my skill in physike bee small, I have some experience in these maladies, which I thrust out with my penne to every mans view, yeelding the ranke fleshe to the chirurgions knife, and so ridde my handes of the cure, for it passeth my cunning to heale them privily.

If your worshippe vouchsafe to enter the Schoole doore, and walke an hower or twaine within for your pleasure, you shall see what I teache, which present my Schoole, my cunning, and my selfe to your worthy patronage ; beseeching you, though I bidd you to dinner, not to loke for a feast fit for the curious taste of a perfect courtier, but to imitate Philip of Macedon, who, beeing invited to a farmers house when hee came from hunting, brought a greater trayne then

the poore man looked for. When they were sette the good Philip, perceiving his hoste sorrowful for want of meate to satisfie so many, exhorted his friends to keepe their stomackes for the second course ; whereuppon every man fedde modestly on that which stoode before him, and lefte meate inough at the taking upp of the table. And I trust if your worshippe feede sparingly on this (to comforte your poore hoste) in hope of a better course hereafter, though the dishes bee fewe that I set before you, they shall for this time suffice your selfe and a great many moe.

Your worships to commaund,

STEPHAN GOSSON.

TO THE READER.

Gentlemen and others, you may wel thinke that I sell you my corne and eate chaffe, barter my wine and drink water, sith I take upon me to deterre you from Playes, when mine owne woorkes are dayly to be seene upon stages, as sufficient witnesses of mine owne folly, and severe judges against my selfe. But if you sawe howe many teares of sorrowe my eyes shed when I beholde them, or how many drops of blood my heart sweates when I remember them, you would not so much blame me for missespending my time when I knew not what I did, as commend me at the laste for recovering my steppes with graver counsell. After wittes are ever best: burnt children dread the fier. I have seene that which you beholde, and I shun that which you frequent; and that I might the easier pull your mindes from such studyes, drawe your feete from such places, I have sent you a Schoole of those abuses which I have gathered by observation.

Theodorus, the Atheist, complayned that his schollers were woont, how plaine soever hee spake, to misconster him, how righte soever hee wrote, to wrest him; and I looke for some like auditors in my Schoole, as of rancour will hit me, howsoever I warde, or of stomake assaile mee, how soever I bee garded; making black of white, chalke of cheese, the full moone of a messe of cruddes. These are such as, with curst cures, barke at every man but their owne friendes: these snatch uppe bones in open streetes, and bite them with madnesse in secret corners: these, with sharp windes, pearse subtiler in narrowe lanes then

large fields ; and sith there is neither authoritie in me to bridle their tounes, nor reason in them to rule their owne talke, I am contented to suffer their taunts, requesting you, which are gentlemen, of curtesie to beare with me, and because you are learned amende the faultes freendly which escape the presse : the ignoraunt, I knowe, will swallow them downe and digest them with ease. Farewel.

Yours

STEPHAN GOSSON.

THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE.

The Syracusans used such varietie of dishes in their banquets, that when they were set, and their bordes furnished, they were many times in doubt which they should touch first, or taste last. And in my opinion the worlde geueth every writer so large a fiede to walke in, that before he set penne to the booke, he shall find him selfe feasted at Syracusa, uncertayne where to begin, or when to end : this caused Pindarus to question with his Muse, whether he were better with his art to discifer the life of Nimpe Melia, or Cadmus encounter with the dragon, or the warres of Hercules at the walles of Thebes, or Bacchus cuppes, or Venus jugling? He saw so many turnings layde open to his feete, that hee knew not which way to bende his pace.

Therefore, as I cannot but commend his wisdom which in banquetting feedes most uppon that that doth nourishe best, so must I dispraise his methode in writing which, following the course of amarus poets, dwelleth longest on those points that profit least, and like a wanton whelp leaveth the game to runne riot. The scarabe flies over many a sweet flower, and lightes in a cowsherd. It is the custome of the flie to leave the sound places of the horse, and sucke at the botch : the nature of colloquintida to draw the worst humors to it selfe : the manner of swine to forsake the fayre fields and wallowe in the myre ; and the whole practise of poets, either with fables to shewe their abuses, or with playne tearmes to unfolde their mischeefe,

discover their shame, discredite themselves, and disperse their poison through the world. Virgil sweats in describing his gnatte; Ovid bestirreth him to paint out his flea: the one shewes his art in the lust of Dido; the other his cunning in the incest of Myrrha, and that trumpet of bawdrie, the Craft of Love.

I must confesse that poets are the whetstones of wit, notwithstanding that wit is dearely bought: where honie and gall are mixt, it will be hard to sever the one from the other. The deceitfull phisition geveth sweete syrroppes to make his poyson goe downe the smother: the jugler casteth a myst to work the closer: the Syrens songue is the saylers wracke; the fowlers whistle the birdes death; the wholesome baite the fishes bane. The Harpies have virgin faces, and vultures talents: Hyena speakes like a friend, and devours like a foe: the calmest seas hide dangerous rockes: the wolfe jets in weathers felles. Manie good sentences are spoken by Davus to shadowe his knaverie, and written by poets as ornamentes to beautifie their woorkes, and sette their trumperie to sale without suspect.

But if you looke well to Epæus horse, you shall finde in his bowels the destruction of Troy: open the sepulchre of Semyramis, whose title promiseth suche wealth to the kynges of Persia, you shall see nothing but dead bones: rip up the golden ball that Nero consecrated to Jupiter Capitollinus, you shall it stuffed with the shavings of his bearde: pul off the visard that poets maske in, you shall disclose their reproch, bewray their vanitie, loth their wantonnesse, lament their folly, and perceive their sharpe sayinges to be placed as pearles in dung-hills, fresh pictures on rotten walles, chaste matrons apparel on common curtesans. These are the cuppes of Circes, that turne reasonable creatures into brute beastes; the balles of Hippomenes, that hinder the course of Atalanta, and the blocks of the Devil, that are cast in our wayes to cut of the race of toward wittes. No marveyle though Plato shut them out of

his schoole, and banished them quite from his common wealth, as effeminate writers, unprofitable members, and utter enimies to vertue.

The Romans were very desirous to imitate the Greekes, and yet very loth to receive their poets ; insomuch that Cato layeth it in the dishe of Marcus, the noble, as a foule reproche, that in the time of his Consulshippe he brought Ennius, the poet, into his province. Tully accustomed to read them with great diligence in his youth, but when he waxed graver in studie, elder in yeers, ryper in judgement, hee accompted them the fathers of lyes, pipes of vanitie, and Schooles of Abuse. Maximus Tyrius taketh upon him to defend the discipline of these doctors under the name of Homer, wresting the rashness of Ajax to valour, the cowardice of Ulisses to policie, the dotage of Nestor to grave counsell, and the battaile of Troy to the woonderfull conflict of the foure elementes ; where Juno, which is counted the ayre, settes in her foote to take up the strife, and steps boldly betwixt them to part the fray. It is a pageant woorth the sight to beholde how he labors with mountaines to bring forth mice ; much like to some of those Players, that come to the scaffold with drumme and trumpet to profer skirmishe, and when they have sounded Allarme, off goe the peeces to encounter a shadow, or conquere a paper monster. You will smile, I am sure, if you reade it, to see how this morall philosopher toyles to draw the lions skinne upon Æsops asse, Hercules shoes on a childe's feet ; amplifying that which, the more it is stirred, the more it stinkes, the lesser it is talked of the better it is liked ; and as waiwarde children, the more they bee flattered the woorse they are, or as curste sores with often touching waxe angry, and run the longer without healing. Hee attributeth the beginning of vertue to Minerva, of friendshippe to Venus, and the roote of all handy crafts to Vulcan ; but if he had broke his arme aswel as his legge, when he fell out of heaven into Lemnos, either Apollo must

Tus. 1. 2.

λογος 15.

have plaid the bone setter, or every occupation beene layde a water.

Plato, when he saw the doctrine of these teachers neither for profit necessary, nor to bee wished for pleasure, gave them all Drummes entertainment, not suffering them once to shew their faces in a reformed common wealth. And the same Tyrius, that layes such a foundation for poets in the name of Homer, overthrowes his whole building in the person of Mithecus, which was an excellent cooke among the Greekes, and asmuche honoured for his confections, as Phidias for his carving. But when he came to Sparta, thinking there for his cunning to be accompted a god, the good lawes of Licurgus, and custome of the countrey were too hot for his diet. The Governors banished him and his art, and al the inhabitants, folowing the steppes of their predecessors, used not with dainties to provoke appetite, but with labour and travell to whette their stomackes to their meate. I may well liken Homer to Mithecus, and poets to cookes : the pleasures of the one winnes the body from labour, and conquereth the sense : the allurements of the other drawes the minde from vertue, and confoundeth wit. As in every perfect common wealth there ought to be good laws established, right maintained, wrong repressed, vertue rewarded, vice punished, and all manner of abuses thoroughly purged, so ought there such schooles for the furtherance of the same to be advaunced, that young men may be taught that in greene yeeres, that becomes them to practise in gray hayres.

Anacharsis being demaunded of a Greeke, whether they had not instrumentes of musicke or schooles of poetrie in Scythia? aunswared, yes, and that without vice ; as though it were eyther impossible, or incredible that no abuse should be learned where such lessons are taught, and such schooles maintained.

Salust in describing the nurture of Sempronia commendeth her witte, in that shee coulede frame her selfe to all companies,

to talke discretly with wyse men, and vaynely with wantons, takyng a quip ere it came to grounde, and returning it backe without a faulte. She was taught (saith he) both Greeke and Latine; she could versifie, sing and daunce better then became an honest woman. Sappho was skilful in poetrie and sung wel, but she was whorish. I set not this downe to condemne the giftes of versifying, daunsing or singing in women, so they bee used with meane and exercised in due time; but to shew you that, as by Anacharsis report the Scythians did it without offence, so one swallow brings not summer, nor one particular example is sufficient prooffe for a generall precept. White silver drawes a black lyne; fyre is as hurtfull as healthie; water is as daungerous as it is commodious, and these qualities as harde to be wel used when we have them, as they are to be learned before wee get them. He that goes to sea must smel of the ship, and that which sayles into poets wil savour of pitch.

Qualities
allowed in
women.

C. Marius in the assembly of the whole Senate of Rome, in a solemne oration, giveth an account of his bringing up: he sheweth that he hath beene taught to lye on the ground, to suffer all weathers, to leade men, to strike his fo, to feare nothing but an evill name; and chalengeth praise unto himselfe in that he never learned the Greeke tounge, neither ment to be instructed in it hereafter, either that he thought it too farre a journey to fetch learning beyonde the fieldes, or because he doubted the abuses of those schooles where poets were ever the head maisters. Tiberius, the emperour, sawe somewhat when he judged Scaurus to death for writing a tragedy; Augustus when hee banished Ovid, and Nero when he charged Lucan to put up his pipes, to stay his penne, and write no more. Burrus and Seneca, the schoolemaisters of Nero, are flowted and hated of the people for teaching their scholer the song of Dion. in vita Attis: for Dion saith, that he hearing thereof Neronis. wrounge laughter and teares from most of those that were

Salust.

Poets cheefe
maisters in
Greece.

then about him. Wherby I judge that they scorned the folly of the teachers, and lamented the frenzy of the scholer, who beeing emperour of Rome, and bearing the weight of the whole common wealth uppon his shoulders, was easier to bee drawen to vanitie by wanton poets, then to good government by the fatherly counsel of grave senators. They were condemned to dye by the lawes of the Heathens whiche inchaunted the graine in other mens grounds ; and are not they accursed, thinke you, by the mouth of God, which having the government of young Princes, with poetical fantasies draw them to the schooles of their own abuses, bewitching the graine in the greene blade, that was sowed for the sustenance of many thousands, and poysoning the spring with their amorous layes, whence the whole common wealth should fetch water ? But to leave the scepter to Jupiter, and instructing of Princes to Plutarch and Xenophon, I wil beare a lowe saile, and rowe neere the shore, least I chaunce to bee carried beyonde my reache, or runne a grounde in those coasts which I never knewe. My onely indeavour shalbe to shew you that in a rough cast which I see in a cloude, loking through my fingers.

And because I have been matriculated my self in the schoole where so many abuses flourish, I wil imitate the dogs of Ægypt, which comming to the bancks of Nylus to quench theyr thirste, syp and away, drinke running, lest they be snapt short for a pray to crocodiles. I shoulde tell tales out of schoole and bee ferruled for my fault, or hyssed at for a blab, yf I layde all the orders open before your eyes. You are no soner entred but libertie looseth the reynes and geves you head, placing you with poetrie in the lowest forme, when his skill is showne too make his scholer as good as ever twangde : he preferres you to pyping, from pyping to playing, from play to pleasure, from pleasure to slouth, from slouth to sleepe, from sleepe to sinne, from sinne to death, from death too the Divil, if you take your learning apace, and passe through every forme without

revolting. Looke not to have me discourse these at large : the crocodile watcheth to take me tardie : whichesoever of them I touche is a byle : tryppe and goe, for I dare not tarry.

Heraclides accounteth Amphion the ringleader of poets and pipers : Delphus Philammones penned the birth of Latona, Diana and Apollo in verse, and taught the people to pype and daunce rounde aboute the Temple of Delphos. Hesiodus was as cunning in pipyng as in poetrye : so was Terpandrus, and after hym Clonas. Apollo, whiche is honoured of poets as the God of their art, had at the one syde of his idoll in Delos a bowe, and at the other the three Graces with sundrie instrumentes ; and some writers doe affirme that he piped himself nowe and then.

Poetrie and piping have alwayes been so united together, that til the time of Melanippides pipers were poets
Plutarch.
hyerlings. But marke, I pray you, how they are now both abused.

The right use of auncient poetrie was to have the
Olde Poets.
notable exploytes of worthy captaines, the holesome counsels of good fathers and vertuous lives of predecessors set downe in numbers, and sung to the instrument at solemne feastes, that the sound of the one might draw the hearers from kissing the cup too often, the sense of the other put them in minde of things past, and chaulke out the way to do the like. After this maner were the Bæotians trained from rudenesse to civilitie, the Lacedæmonians instructed by Tyrtæus verse, the Argives by the melody of Telesilla, and the Lesbians by Alcæus odes.

To this end are instruments used in battaile, not to tickle the eare, but to teach every souldier when to strike and when to stay, when to flye and when to followe. Chiron by singing to his instrument quencheth Achilles fury : Terpan-
Homer.
drus with his notes laieth the tempest, and pacifies the tumult at Lacedæmon : Homer with his musike cured the sick souldiers in the Grecians camp, and purgeth every mans

tent of the plague. Thinke you that those miracles could bee wrought without playing of daunces, dumpes, pavins, galliardes, measures, fancyes, or newe streynes? They never came where this grew, nor knew what it ment.

Pythagoras bequeathes them a clokebagge, and condemnes them for fooles, that judge musike by sound and eare. If you will bee good scholars, and profite well in the arte of musike, shut your fidels in their cases and looke uppe to Heaven: the order of the spheres, the unfallible motion of the planets, the juste course of the yeere, the varietie of the seasons, the concorde of the elementes and their qualities, fyre, water, ayre, earth, heate, colde, moisture and droughd concurring togeather to the constitution of earthly bodies, and sustenance of every creature.

True musick. The politike lawes in wel governed common wealthes, that treade downe the proude and upholde the meeke; the love of the king and his subjectes, the father and his chylde, the lorde and his slave, the maister and his man; the trophees and triumphes of our auncestours which pursued vertue at the harde heeles, and shunned vice as a rock for feare of shipwracke, are excellent maisters to shewe you that this is right musicke, this perfect harmony. Chiron when he appeased the wrath of Achilles tolde hym the duetie of a good souldier, repeated the vertues of his father Peleus, and sung the famous enterprises of noble men. Terpandrus, when he ended the brabbles at Lacedemon, neither piped Rogero nor Turkelony; but reckoning up the commodities of friendship and fruits of debate, putting them in minde of Licurgus lawes, taught them to tread a better measure. When Homers musicke drove the pestilence from the Grecians campe, ther was no such vertue in his penne, nor in his pipe, but, if I might be umpier, in the sweete harmonie of divers natures, and wonderful concorde of sundry medicines. For Apolloes cunning extendeth it self aswel to phisick, as musicke or poetrie; and Plutarche reporteth that as Chiron was a wise man, a learned

poet, a skilfull musition, so was hee also a teacher of justice by shewing what Princes ought to doe, and a reader of phisicke by opening the natures of many simples. If you enquire how many such poets and pipers we have in our age, I am perswaded that every one of them may creepe through a ring, or daunce the wilde morrice in an needles eye. We have infinit poets, and pipers, and suche peevishe cattel among us in Englande, that live by merrie begging, mainteyned by almes, and prively encroche upon every mans purse. But if they that are in auctority, and have the sworde in their handes to cut of abuses, should call an accompt to see how many Chirons, Terpandri and Homers are heere, they might cast the summe without pen or counters, and sit downe with Racha to weepe for her children, because they were not.

He that compareth our instruments with those that were used in ancient tymes shall see them agree like dogges and cattles, and meete as jump as Germans lippes. Terpandrus and Olympus used instruments of 7 strings, and Plutarch is of opinion that the instruments of 3 strings, which were used before their time, passed all that have folowed since. It was an old law, and long kept, that no man should according to his own humor adde or diminish in matters concerning that art, but walk in the pathes of their predecessors. But when new-fangled Phrynis becam a fidler, being somewhat curious in carping, and serching for moats with a paire of bleard eies, thought to amend his maisters, and marred al. Timotheus, a bird of the same broode, and a right hound of the same haire, took the 7 stringed harp, that was altogether used in Terpandrus time, and encreased the number of the strings at his owne pleasure. The Argives appointed by their lawes great punishments for such as placed above 7 strings upon any instrument. Pythagoras commaunded that no musition should go beyond his diapason. Were the Argives and Pythagoras nowe alive, and saw how many frets, how many stringes, how many stops, how many keyes, how many cliffes,

howe many moodes, how many flats, how many sharpes, how many rules, how many spaces, how many noates, how many restes, how many querks, how many corners, what chopping, what changing, what tossing, what turning, what wresting and wringing is among our musitions, I believe verily that they would cry out with the country man, *Heu, quòd tam pingui macer est mihi taurus in arvo.* Alas, here is fat feeding and leane beasts; or as one said at the shearing of hogs, great cry and litle wool, much adoe and smal help. To shew the abuses of these unthrifty scholers, that despise the good rules of their ancient masters, and run to the shop of their owne devises, defacing olde stampes, forging newe printes, and coining strange precepts, Phærecrates, a comicall poet, bringeth in Musicke with her clothes tottered, her fleshe torne, her face deformed, her whole bodie mangled and dismembred: Justice, viewing her well and pitying her case, questioneth with her howe she came in that plight? to whom Musicke Musicke sore replies that Melanippides, Phrynis, Timotheus, wounded. and such fantasticall heades had so disfigured her lookes, defaced her beautie, so hacked her and hewed her, and with manye stringes geven her so many woundes, that she is stricken to death, in daunger to peryshe, and present in place the least part of her selfe. When the Sicilians and Dores forsooke the playn song that they had learned of their auncestours in the mountaynes, and practised long among theyr heardees, they founde out such descant in Sybaris instrumentes that by daunsing and skipping they fel into lewdnesse of life. Neither stayed those abuses in the compasse of that countrie; but like to ill weedes, in time spread so farre, that they choked the good grayne in every place.

For as poetrie and piping are cosen germaines, so piping and playing are of great affinitye, and all three chayned in linkes of abuse.

Plutarch complayneth that ignorant men, not knowing the majestie of auncient musike, abuse both the eares of the

people, and the arte it selfe, with bringing sweet comfortes into Theaters, which rather effeminate the minde as prickes unto vice, then procure amendement of maners as spurres to vertue. Ovid, the high Martial of Venus feeld, planteth his mayn battell in publike assemblies, sendeth out his scouters to Theaters to descrye the enimie, and in steede of vaunte curriers, with instruments of musick, playing, singing and dauncing gives the first charge. Maximus Tyrius holdeth it for a maxime, that the bringing of instrumentes to Theaters and playes was the first cuppe that poysoned the common wealth. They that are borne in Seriphos and cockered continually in those islandes, where they see nothing but foxes and hares, will never be persuaded that there are huger beasts. They that never went out of the champion in Brabant will hardly conceive what rocks are in Germany; and they that never goe out of their houses, for regarde of their credite, nor steppe from the university for love of knowledge, seeing but slender offences and smal abuses within their own walles, wil never beleeve that such rocks are abroad, nor such horrible monsters in playing places. But as (I speake the one to my comforte, the other to my shame, and remember both with a sorowful heart) I was first instructed in the University, after drawn like a novice to these abuses, so will I shew you what I see, and informe you what I reade of such affaires. Ovid saith that Romulus builte his theater as a horsfaire for hoores, made triumphes and set out playes to gather the faire women together, that every one of his souldiers might take where hee liked a snatch for his share: whereupon the amarous schoolmaister bursteth out in these wordes:—

Romule, militibus solus dare præmia nosti:

Hæc mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.

Thou, Romulus, alone knowest how thy souldiers to reward:
Graunt me the like, my selfe will be attendant on thy gard.

It should seeme that the abuse of such places was so great, that for any chaste liver to haunt them was a black swan, and

a white crow. Dion so streightly forbiddeth the ancient families of Rome, and gentlewomen that tender their name and honor, to com to Theaters, and rebuks them so sharply when he takes them napping, that if they be but once seene there, hee judgeth it sufficient cause to speake ill of them and thinke worse. The shadow of a knave hurts an honest man; the sent of the stewes a sober matron; and the shew of Theaters a simple gaser. Clitomachus the wrestler, geven altogether to manly exercise, if hee had hearde any talke of love, in what company soever he had ben, would forsake his seat and bid them adue.

Lacon, when hee sawe the Athenians studie so much to set out playes, sayde they were madde. If men for good exercise, and women for their credite, be shut from Theaters, whom shall we suffer to goe thither? Little children? Plutarche with a caveat keepeth them out, not so muche as admitting the litle crackhalter, that carrieth his masters pantables, to set foote within those doores; and alleageth this reason—that those wanton spectacles of light huswives drawing gods from the heavens, and young men from themselves to shipwracke of honesty, wil hurt them more then if at the epicures table they had burst their guts with over feeding. For if the bodie be overcharged, it may bee holpe,

but the surfitte of the soule is hardely cured. Here,
Objection.

I doubt not, but some archeplayer or other that hath read a litle, or stumbled by chance upon Plautus comedies, will cast me a bone or two to pick, saying that whatsoever these ancient writers have spoken against plaies is to be applied to the abuses in olde comedies, where gods are brought in as prisoners to beautie, ravishers of virgines, and servantes by love to earthly creatures. But the comedies that are exercised in our dayes are better sifted: they shewe no such branne. The first smelt of Plautus; these tast of Menander: the leudenes of the gods is altred and chaunged to the love of young men; force to friendshippe; rapes to

mariage; woing allowed by assurance of wedding; privie meetinges of bachelours and maidens on the stage, not as murderers that devour the good name ech of other in their mindes, but as those that desire to bee made one in hearte. Nowe are the abuses of the worlde revealed: every man in a playe may see his owne faultes, and learne by this glasse to amende his manners. Curculio may chatte till his heart ake, ere any bee offended with his girdes. Deformities are checked in jeast, and mated in earnest. The sweetnesse of musicke, and pleasure of sportes temper the bitternes of rebukes, and mittigate the tartnes of every taunt according to this:—

*Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Narrat, et admissus circum precordia ludit.*

Flaccus among his friends, with fawning muse,
Doth nippe him neere that fostreth foule abuse.

Therefore, they are either so blinde that they cannot, or so blunt that they will not see why this exercise shoulde not be suffered as a profitable recreation. For my part, I am neither so fonde a phisition, nor so bad a cooke, but I can allowe my patient a cuppe of wine to meales, althoughe it be hotte and pleasant sawces to drive downe his meate, if his stomacke be queasie. Notwithstanding, if people will bee instructed (God bee thanked) wee have divines enough to discharge that, and moe by a greate many then are well harkened to: yet sith these abuses are growne to heade, and sinne so ripe, the number is lesse then I would it were. Euripides holds not him onely a foole, that being well at home will gadde abroad, that hath a conduit within doore and fetcheth water without, but all such beside as have sufficient in themselves to make themselves merry with pleasaunt talke, tending to good and mixed with *ευτραπεία*, the Grecians glee, yet will they seeke, when they neede not, to be sported abroad at playes and pageantes. Plutarch likeneth the recreation that is gotte by conference to a plesaunte banquet: the sweete

Answer.

pappe of the one sustaineth the body, the savery doctrine of the other doth nourish the mind; and as in banquetting the wayter standes readye to fill the cuppe, so in all our recreations we shoulde have an instructor at our elbowes to feede the soule. If we gather grapes among thistles, or seeke for this foode at theaters, wee shall have a harde pyttaunce and come to short commons. I cannot think that city to be safe that strikes downe her percolleces, rammes up her gates, and suffereth the enimie to enter the posterne: neyther will I bee persuaded that hee is any way likely to conquere affection which breaketh all his instrumentes, burneth his poets, abandons his haunt, muffleth his eyes as hee passeth the streete, and resortes to theaters to be assaulted. Coockes did never shewe more crafte in their junketts to vanquishe the taste, nor paynters in shadowes to allure the eye, then poets in theaters to wounde the conscience.

There set they a broche straunge consortes of melodie to tickle the eare, costly apparrell to flatter the sight, effeminate gesture to ravish the sence, and wanton speache to whette desire to inordinate lust. Therefore of both barrells I judge cookes and painters the better hearing, for the one extendeth his art no farther then to the tongue, palate and nose, the other to the eye, and both are ended in outwarde sense, which is common to us with brute beastes. But these by the privy entries of the eare sappe downe into the heart, and with gunshotte of affection gaule the minde, where reason and vertue shoulde rule the roste. These people in Rome were as pleasant as nectar at the first beginning, and caste out for lees when their abuses were knowen. They whome Cæsar uphelde were driven out by Octavian; whom Caligula reclaimed were cast of by Nero; whom Nerva exalted were throwne downe by Trajan; whom Anthony admitted were expelled agayn, pestred in gallies, and sent into Hellespont by Marcus Aurelius. But when the whole rabble of poets, pipers, players, jugglers, jesters and dauncers were received agayne, Rome

was reported to bee fuller of fooles then of wise men. Domitian suffered playing and dauncing so long in theaters, that Paris ledde the shaking of sheetes with Domitia, and Mnester, the Treuchmouth, with Messalina. Caligula made so much of players and dauncers, that he suffered them openly to kisse his lippes, when the senators might scarce

Domitia was
the first wife
of Domitian,
and Messalina
the seconde.

Dion.

have a licke at his feete. He gave dauncers great stipends for selling their hopps, and placed Apelles, the player, by his own sweete side. Besides that, you may see what excellent grave men were ever about him: he loved Prasinus the cocheman so wel, that for good wil to the master he bid his horse to supper, gave him wine to drinke in cups of estate, set barly graines of gold before him to eate, and swore by no bugs that he would make him a Consul; which thing (saith Dion) had ben performed, but that he was prevented by sudden death; for as his life was abominable, so was his end miserable. Comming from dancing and playing, he was slayne by Chærea, a just reward and a fit catastrophe. I have heard some players vaunt of the credite they had in Rome, but they are as foolish in that as Vibius Rufus, which bosted himselfe to be an Emperour, because he had syt in Cæsars chayre, and a perfect orator, because he was married to Tullies widow. Better might they say themselves to be murderers, because they have represented the persons of Thyestes, and Atreus, Achilles, and Hector; or perfect limme lifters for teaching the trickes of every strompet. Such are the abuses that I read of in Rome: such are the caterpillers that have devoured and blasted the fruit of Ægypt: suche are the dragons that are hurtfull in Affricke: such are the adders that sting with pleasure and kill with payne; and such are the basiliskes of the world that poyson, as wel with the beame of their sight, as with the breath of their mouth.

Consider with thy selfe (gentle Reader) the olde discipline of Englande: marke what wee were before, and what we are

now. Leave Rome a while, and cast thine eye backe to thy predecessours, and tell me howe woonderfully we have beene changed since we were schooled with these abuses. Dion saith

Manners of that English men could suffer watching and labor, England in old hunger and thirst, and beare of all storms with time.

head and shoulders : they used slender weapons, went naked, and wer good soldiours : they fedde uppon rootes and barkes of trees : they would stande up to the chinne many dayes in marshes without victualles, and they had a kinde of sustenance in time of neede, of which if they hadde taken but the quantitie of a beane, or the weight of a pease, they did neither gape after meate, nor long for the cuppe a great while after. The men in valure not yeelding to Scythia ; Olde exercise in England. the women in courage passing the Amazons. The exercise of both was shooting and darting, running and wrestling, and trying such maisteries as eyther consisted in swiftnesse of feet, agilitie of bodie, strength of armes, or martiall discipline.

New England. But the exercise that is nowe among us is

banquetting, playing, pyping, and dauncing, and all suche delightes as may winne us to pleasure, or rocke us in sleepe. *Quantum mutatus ab illo !* Oh, what a wonderfull change is this ! Our wrastling at armes is turned to wallowing in ladies lappes ; our courage to cowardice ; our cunning to riot, our bowes into bolles, and our dartes to dishes. Wee have robbed Greece of gluttony, Italy of wantonnes, Spayne of pride, France of deceite, and Duchland of quaffing. Compare London to Rome and England to Italy, you shall finde the theaters of the one, the abuses of the other, to bee rife among us. *Experto crede :* I have seene somewhat, and therefore I thinke I may say the more. In Rome when playes or pageants are shewne, Ovid changeth his pilgrims to creepe close to the Saintes whome they serve, and shewe their double diligence to lift the gentlewomens roabes from the ground for soying in the duste, to sweepe moates from their kirtles, to keepe their

fingers in use, to lay their hands at their backes for an easie stay, to looke uppon those whome they beholde, to prayse that which they commende, to like everye thing that pleaseth them, to present them pomgranates to picke as they set, and when all is done to wayte on them mannerly to their houses. In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering to sytte by women; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on; suche eyes to their lappes that no chippes lighte in them; such pillowes to their backes that they take no hurte; suche masking in their eares, I know not what; suche geving them pippins to passe the time; suche playing at foote saunt without cardes; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretly practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets verie cunningly ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknownen, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth flocke too theaters, and there keepe a generall market of bawdrie. Not that anye filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, every man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane are there first acquainted, and cheapen the merchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abroad and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne.

Brodel Houses.

Every vauter in one blind tavernne or other is tenant at will, to which she tolleth resort, and playes the stale to utter their victuals, and helpe them to emptie their mustie caskes. There is she so entreated with woordes and received with curtesie, that every back roome in the house is at her commaundement. Some that have neyther land to mainteine them, nor good occupation to get their bread, desirous to strowte it with the best, yet disdayning to live by the sweat of their browes, have founde out this cast of ledgerde-mayne to playe fast and loose among their neighbours. If any part of musicke have suffred shipwrecke and arived by fortune at their fingers endes, with shewe of gentility they take up faire houses, receive lusty lasses at a price for boordes, and pipe from morning till evening for wood and coale. By the brothers, cosens, uncles, great grandsiers, and suche like acquayntance of their gheastes, they drink the best, they syt rent free, they have their owne table spread to their handes without wearing the strings of their purse, or any thing else but housholde and honestie. When resort so encreaseth that they grow in suspition, and the pottes which are sent so often to the tavernne gette such a knock before they come home, that they returne their maister a cracke to his credite, though hee bee called in question of his life, he hath shiftes yenough to avoyd the blank. If their houses bee searched, some instrumente of musicke is laide in sighte to dazell the eyes of every officer, and all that are lodged in the house by night, or frequent it by day, come thither as pupilles to be well schoolde. Other there are, which beyng so knowne that they are the bye word of every mans mouth, and pointed at commonly as they passe the streetes, eyther couch themselves in allies or blinde lanes, or take sanctuary in Frieries, or live a mile from the cittee, like Venus nunnes in a cloyster of Nuington, Ratliff, Islington, Hogsdon or some such place, where like penitentes they deny the world, and spende their dayes in double devotion; and when they are weery of contemplation, to consort themselves

and renue their acquaintance, they visit Theaters, where they make full accompt of a pray before they depart.

Solon made no law for parricides, because he feared that he should rather put men in mind to commit such offences, then by any strange punishment geve them a bit to keep them under ; and I intend not to shew you al that I see, nor half that I here of these abuses, lest you judge me more wilful to teach them, then willing to forbid them. I looke stil when Players shoulde cast me their gauntlettes, and challenge a com-bate for entring so farre into theyr possessions, as though I made them Lordes of this Misrule, or the very schoolemaisters of these abuses : though the best clarks be of that opinion, they heare not mee saye so. There are more howses then parishe churches, more maydes then Maulkin, more wayes to the wood then one, and more causes in nature then efficientes. The carpenter rayseth not his frame without tooles, nor the Divell his woorke without instrumentes : were not Players the meane to make these assemblies, suche multitudes woulde hardly bee drawne in so narrowe a roome. They seeke not to hurte, but desire to please : they have purged their comedies of wanton speaches, yet the corne which they sell is full of cockle, and the drinke that they drawe overcharged with dregges. There is more in them then we perceive : the Divell standes at our elbowe when we see not, speaks when we heare him not, strikes when we feele not, and woundeth sore when he raseth no skinne nor rentes the fleshe. In those thinges that we lest mistrust the greatest daunger doeth often lurke : the countrie-man is more afraid of the serpent that is hid in the grasse, than the wilde beaste that openly feedes upon the mountaines : the marriner is more endaugered by privye shelves then knowen rockes : the souldier is sooner killed with a little bullet then a long sworde. There is more perill in close fistuloes then outward sores, in secret ambushe then mayne batteles, in undermining then playne assaulting, in friendes then foes, in civill discorde then forrayne warres. Small are the abuses,

and slight are the faultes that nowe in Theaters escape the poets pen ; but tall cedars from little graynes shoote high : greate oakes from slender rootes spread wide : large streames from narrowe springes runn farre : one little sparke fiers a whole citie : one dramme of Elleborns raunsacks every wayne : the fishe Remora hath a small body, and great force to staye shippes agaynst winde and tide : Ichneumon, a little worme, overcomes the elephant : the viper slayes the bull ; the weesell the cockatrice, and the weakest waspe stingeth the stoutest man of warre. The height of Heaven is taken by the staffe : the bottome of the sea sounded with lead : the farthest cost discovered by compasse : the secrets of nature searched by wit : the anotomy of man set out by experience ; but the abuses of Plaies cannot be shoven, because they passe the degrees of the instrument, reach of the plummet, sight of the minde, and for tryall are never broughte to the touchstone. Therefore, he that wil avoyde the open shame of privie sinne, the common plague of private offences, the greate wrackes of little rockes, the sure disease of uncertaine causes, must set hande to the sterne, and eye to his steppes to shun the occasion as neere as he can ; neither running to bushes for renting his clothes, nor rent his clothes for emparing his thrift, nor walke upon yse for taking of a fall, nor take a fall for brusing himselve, nor go to Theaters for beeing allured, nor once bee allured for feare of abuse.

Bunduica, a notable woman and a Queene of Englande that time that Nero was Emperour of Rome, having some of the Romans in garrison heere against her, in an oration which she made to her subjects, seemed utterly to contemne their force and laugh at their folly. For shee accounted them unworthy the name of men, or title of souldiers, because they were smoothly appareled, soft lodged, daintely feasted, bathed in warme waters, rubbed with sweet oyntments, strewd with fine
 The Queenes poulders, wine swillers, singers, dauncers and
 Majestie. players. God hath now blessed England with

a Queene, in vertue excellent, in power mighty, in glory renowned, in government politike, in possession rich, breaking her foes with the bent of her browe, ruling her subjects with shaking her hand, removing debate by diligent foresight, filling her chests with the fruites of peace, ministring justice by order of law, reforming abuses with great regarde, and bearing her swoord so even, that neither the poore are trode under foote, nor the rich suffred to looke to hye: nor Rome, nor France, nor tyrant, nor Turke dare for their lives to enter the list. But we, unworthy servants of so milde a mistresse, degenerate children of so good a mother, unthankful subjects of so loving a prince, wound her swete hart with abusing her lenitie, and stir Jupiter to anger to send us a storke that shal devoure us. How often hath her Majestie, with the grave advice of her whole Councel, set downe the limits of apparel to every degree, and how soone againe hath the pride of our harts overflowen the chanel? Howe many times hath accesse to theaters beene restrained, and howe boldly againe have we reentred? over-lashing in apparel is so common a fault, that the verye hyerlings of some of our plaiers, which stand at reversion of vi^s by the weeke, jet under gentlemens noses in sutes of silke, exercising them selves to prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abroad, where they looke askance over the shoulder at every man of whom the Sunday before they begged an almes. I speake not this as though every one that professeth the qualitie so abused him selfe, for it is wel known that some of them are sober, discrete, properly learned, honest housholders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, Some players modest, if I be not deceived. though the pride of their shadowes (I meane those hangbyes whome they succour with stipend) cause them to bee somewhat il talked of abroad.

And as some of the players are farre from abuse, so some of their playes are without rebuke, which are easily remem-

Some playes bered, as quickly reckoned. The two prose
 tollerable at bookes played at the Belsavage, where you shall
 sometime. finde never a woorde without witte, never a line
 without pith, never a letter placed in vaine. The Jew, and
 Ptolome, showne at the Bull; the one representing the greediness
 of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of usurers; the
 other very lively describing howe seditious estates with their
 owne devises, false friendes with their owne swoords, and rebellious
 commons in their owne snares are overthrowne; neither
 with amorous gesture wounding the eye, nor with slovenly
 talke hurting the eares of the chast hearers. The Black
 Smiths Daughter, and Catilins Conspiracies, usually brought in
 at the Theater: the firste containing the trechery of Turks, the
 honourable bountye of a noble mind, the shining of vertue in
 distresse. The last because it is knowen to be a pig of mine
 owne Sowe, I will speake the lesse of it; onely giving you to
 understand that the whole mark which I shot at in that woorke
 was to shewe the rewarde of traytors in Catiline, and the
 necessary government of learned men in the person of Cicero,
 which forsees every danger that is likely to happen, and for-
 stalles it continually ere it take effect. Therefore I give these
 playes the commendation that Maximus Tyrius
 λόγῳ. 3. gave to Homers works—καλὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη,
 καὶ ἔπων τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ φανώτατα, καὶ ἄδεσθαι μουσαῖς πρέποντα ἄλλα οὐ
 πᾶσι καλὰ, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ καλὰ.

These playes are good playes and sweete playes, and of all
 playes the best playes, and most to be liked, woorthy to be
 sounge of the Muses, or set out with the cunning of Roscius
 him self, yet are they not fit for every mans dyet:
 Playes are not to be made neither ought they commonly to be shoven. Now,
 common. if any man aske me why my selfe have penned
 comedyes in time past, and inveigh so egerly against them
 here, let him knowe that *Semel insanavimus omnes*: I have
 sinned, and am sorry for my fault: he runnes far that never
 turnes: better late then never. I gave my selfe to that ex-

ercise in hope to thrive, but I burnt one candle to seeke another, and lost bothe my time and my travell when I had done.

Thus sithe I have in my voyage suffred wracke with Ulisses, and wringing-wett scrambled with life to the shore, stand from mee Nausicaä with all thy traine, till I wipe the blot from my forehead, and with sweete springs wash away the salt froth that cleaves to my soule. Meane time, if players be called to account for the abuses that growe by these assemblyes, I woulde not have them to aunswere, as Pilades did for the theaters of Rome when they were complayned on, and Augustus waxed angrie : “ This resorte, O Cæsar, is good for thee, Dion inivta Augusti. for heere wee keepe thousandes of idle heds occupied, which else peradventure would brue some mischief.” A fit cloude to cover their abuse, and not unlike to the starting hole that Lucinius founde, who like a greedy surveiour, beeing sent into Fraunce to governe the countrye, robbed them and spoyled them of all their treasure with unreasonable taskes : at the last, when his crueltie was so lowdely cryed out on that every man heard it, and all his packing did savour so stronge that Augustus smelt it, hee brought the good Emperour into his house, flapped him in the mouth with a smooth lye, and tolde him, that for his sake and the safetie of Rome, hee gathered that riches, the better to impoverish the countrie for rysing in armes, and so Players compared to Lucinius. holde the poore Frenchmennes noses to the grindstone for ever after.

A bad excuse is better, they say, then none at all. Hee, because the Frenchman paid tribute every moneth, into xiiii moneths devided the yeere : these, because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make 4 or 5 Sundayes at least every weeke ; and all that is doone is good for Augustus, to busy the wits of his people for running a wool-gathering, and emptie their purses for thriving to fast. Though Lucinius had the cast to plaister upp his credite with the losse of his money, I trust that they which have the swoorde in their hands among

us to pare away this putrified flesh, are sharp sighted and wil not so easely be deluded.

Epistola ad Marcus Aurelius saith, that players falling from Lambertum. just labour to unjste idlenesse doe make more trewands, and ill husbands, then if open schooles of unthrifts and vacabounds were kept. Who soever readeth his epistle to Lambert, the governour of Hellespont, when players were banished, shall finde more against them, in plainer termes, then I will utter.

This have I set downe of the abuses of poets, pipers and players, which bring us to pleasure, slouth, sleepe, sinne, and without repentaunce to death and the devill: whiche I have not confirmed by authoritie of Scriptures, because they are not able to stand uppe in the sight of God; and sithens they dare not abide the fielde, where the worde of God doth bid them battaile, but runne to antiquities (though nothing be Scriptures more ancient then holy Scriptures) I have given too hoate for Players. them a volley of prophan writers to begin the skirmish, and doone my indeavour to beate them from their holdes with their owne weapons. The patient that wil be cured of his owne accord must seeke the meane: if every man desire to save one, and drawe his owne feete from Theaters, it shall prevaile as much against these abuses, as Homers Moly against witchcraft, or Plinies peristerion against the byting of dogges.

God hath armed every creature against hisemie: the lyon with pawes, the bull with hornes, the bore with tuskes, the vulture with tallents, harts, hindes, hares and such like with swiftnesse of feet, because they are fearefull, every one of them putting his gifte in practise; but man, which is lord of the whole earth, for whose service herbes, trees, rootes, plants, fish, foule and beasts of the fielde were first made, is farre worse then the brute beastes: for they, endowed but with sence, doe, *appetere salutaria et declinare noxia*, seeke that which helps them, and forsake that which hurtes them.

Man is enriched with reason and knowledge ; with knowledge to serve his maker and governe himselfe ; with reason to distinguish good and ill, and chose the best, neither referring the one to the glory of God, nor using the other to his owne profite.

Fire and ayre mount upwardes, earth and water Corpora naturalia ad locum moventur, et in suis sedibus acquiescunt. sinke downe, and every insensible body els never rests til it bring it selfe to his owne home. But we, which have both sense, reason wit and understanding, are ever overlashing, passing our bounds, going beyond our limites, never keeping our selves Man unmindful of his end. within compasse, nor once loking after the place from whence we came, and whither we muste in spighte of our hartes. Aristotle thinketh that in greate windes His. Anemal. the Bees carry little stones in their mouthes to peyse their bodies, leste they bee carryed away or kept from their hives, unto whiche they desire to returne with the fruites of their labour. The crane is said to rest uppon one leg, and holding uppe the other keeps a pebble in her claw, which as soone as the sences are bound by approche of sleepe falles to the ground, and with the noyse of the knock against the earth makes her awake, whereby shee is ever ready to prevent her enemyes. Geese are foolish byrdes, yet when they flye over the mount Taurus they shoue great wisdome in their own defence ; for they stop their pipes ful of gravel to avoide gagging, and so by silence escape the eagles. Woodcocks, though they lack witte to save them selves, yet they want not wit to avoyde hurte, when they thrust their heads in a bushe and thinke their bodyes out of danger. But wee, which are so brittle that we breake with every fillop, so weake that we are drawne with every thread, so light that wee are blown away with every blast, so unsteady that we slip in every ground, neither peyse our bodyes against the winde, nor stand uppon one legge for sleeping too much, nor close upp our lippes for betraying our selves, nor use any witte to garde

our owne persons, nor shewe our selves willing to shunne our owne harmes, running most greedily to those places where wee are soonest overthrowne. I can not liken our affection better then to an arrowe, which, getting libertie, with winges is carryed beyonde our reach; kepte in the quiver it is still at commaundement: or to a dogge; let him slippe, he is straight out of sight; holde him in the lease, hee never stirres: or to a colte; give him the bridle, he flinges about; raine him hard and you may rule him: or to a ship; hoyst the sayles, it runnes on head; let fall the ancour, all is well: or to Pandoraes boxe; lift upp the lidde, out flyes the Devil; shut it up fast, it cannot hurt us.

Let us but shut uppe our eares to poets, pipers and players; pull our feete backe from resorte to theaters, and turne away our eyes from beholding of vanitie, the greatest storme of abuse will bee overblowne, and a faire path troden to amendment of life: were not we so foolish to taste every drugge and buy every trifle, players woulde shut in their shops, and carry their trash to some other country.

Themistocles in setting a peece of his ground to sale, among all the commodities which were reckoned uppe, straightly charged the cryer to proclaime this, that hee which bought it should have a good neighbour. If players can promise in woordes, and performe it in deedes, proclaime it in their billes, and make it good in their Theaters, that there is nothing there noysome to the body, nor hurtfull to the soule, and that every one which comes to buy their jestes shall have an honest neighbour, tagge and ragge, cutte and long tayle, goe thither and spare not, otherwise I advise you to keepe you thence: my selfe will beginne to leade the daunce.

I make just reckoning to bee helde for a Stoike in dealing so hardly with these people; but all the keyes hange not at one mans girdell, neither doe these open the lockes to all abuses. There are other which have a share with them in their schooles; therfore ought they to daunce the same rounde,

and be partakers together of the same rebuke. Fencers, Dicers, Dauncers, Tumblers, Carders and Bowlers.

Dauncers and Tumblers, because they are dumbe Dauncers and Players, and I have glaunced at them by the way, Tumblers. shall be let passe with this clause, that they gather no assemblies, and goe not beyonde the precincts which Peter Martyr in his Commentaries uppon the Judges hath set them downe. That is, if they will exercise those qualities, to doe it privilye for the health and agilitie of the body, referring all to the glorie of God.

Dycers and Carders, because these abuses are as Dicers and commonly cryed out on as usually shoven, have no Carders. neede of a needlesse discourse, for every manne seeth them, and they stinke almoste in every mans nose. Com- Bowling Al-
mon bowling allyes are privy mothes, that eate leys.
uppe the credite of many idle citizens, whose gaines at home are not able to weigh downe their losses abroad; whose shoppes are so farre from maintaining their play, that their wives and children cry out for bread, and goe to bedde supperlesse ofte in the yeere.

I woulde reade you a lecture of these abuses, but my Schoole so increaseth that I cannot touch all, nor stand to amplifie every poynte. One worde of fencing, and so a *congé* to Fencers.
all kinde of playes. The knowledge in weapons may bee gathered to be necessary in a common wealth by the Senators of Rome, who in the time of Catilins conspiracies caused Schooles of Defence to be erected Salust.
in Capua, that teaching the people howe to warde, and how to locke, howe to thrust and howe to strike, they might the more safely coape with their enemyes. As the arte of logique was first sette downe for a rule by whiche wee might *confirmare nostra et refutare aliena*, confirme our owne reasons and confute the allegations of our adversaries, the end being trueth, which once fished out by the harde incounter of eithers argumentes, like fire by the knockinge of flintes together, bothe

partes shoulde be satisfied and strive no more. And I judge that the craft of defence was first devised to save our selves harmelesse, and holde enimies still at advantage, the ende being right, which once throughely tryed out at handye stroakes, neither hee that offered injurie should have his wil, nor he that was threatened take any hurte; but both be contented and shake handes.

Those dayes are nowe changed: the skill of logicians is exercised in caveling; the cunning of fencers applied to quarrelling: they thinke themselves no schollers, if they be not able to finde out a knotte in every rushe; these no men, if for stirring of a strawe they prove not their valure uppon some bodies fleshe. Every Duns will bee a carper; every Dicke Swashe a common cutter. But as they bake, many times so they brue: selfe doe, selfe have: they whette their swords against themselves, pull the house on their owne heades, retorne home by Weeping Crosse, and fewe of them come to an honest ende; for the same water that drives the mil, decayeth it: the wood is eaten by the worme that breeds within it: the goodnes of a knife cuts the owners finger: the adders death is her owne broode; the fencers scath his owne knowledge. Whether their harts be hardened which use that exercise, or God geve them over, I knowe not well: I have read of none

good that practised it muche. Commodus, the Emperour, so delighted in it, that often times he exercised in slue one or other at home to keepe his fingers in murder.

use; and one day hee gathered all the sicke, lame, and the impotent people in one place, where hee hampered their feete with strange devises, gave them soft spunges in their handes to throwe at him for stones, and with a great clubbe knatched them all on the hed as they had been giauntes.

Epaminondas a famous captaine, sore hurte in a minde on his battayle, and carried out of the feelde halfe dead, buckler.

when tydinges was broughte him that his souldiers gotte the day, asked presently what became of his buckler?

whereby it appeareth that he loved his weapons, but I finde it not said that he was a fencer. Therefore I may liken them, which would not have men sent to the warre till they are taughte fencing, to those superstitious wisemen which would not take upon them to burye the bodies of their friendes, before they had beene cast unto wilde beastes. Fencing is growne to such abuse, that I may well compare the schollers of this schoole to them that provide staves for their owne shoulders; that foster snakes in their owne bosoms; that trust wolves to garde their sheepe, and the men of Hyrcania that keepe mastiffes to woorrye themselves.

Though I speake this to the shame of common fencers, I goe not aboute the bushe with souldiers. Homer calleth them the Sonnes of Jupiter, the images of God, and the very sheepherds of the people: beeing the Sonnes of Jupiter, they are bountifull to the meeke, and thunder out plagues to the proude in heart: being the images of God, they are the welsprings of justice, which geveth to every man his owne: beeing accompted the shepherdes of the people, they fight with the wolfe for the safetie of their flock, and keepe of the enimie for the wealth of their countrie. Howe full are poets woorkes of bucklers, battels, launces, dartes, bowes, quivers, speares, javelins, swords, slaughters, runners, wrestlers, chariottes, horse and men at armes! Agamemnon, beyonde the name of a king, hath this title, that he was a souldier. Menelaus, because he loved his kercher better then his burgonet, a softe bed then a hard field, the sound of instrumentes then neighing of steedes, a fayre stable then a foule way, is let slippe without prayse. If Lycurgus, before hee make lawes for Sparta, take counsell of Apollo whether it were good for him to teach the people thriste, and husbandrie, he shalbe charged to leave those preceptes to the white liverd Hylotes. The Spartanes are all steele, fashioned out of tougher mettall, free in mind, valiant in heart, servile to none; accustoming their fleshe to stripes, their bodies to labour, their feete to hunting, their handes to

fighting. In Crete, Scythia, Persia, Thracia, all the lawes tended to maintenance of martial discipline. Among the Scythians no man was permitted to drinke of their festivall cuppe, which had not manfully killed an enemy in fight. I coulde wish it in Englande, that there were greater preferment for the valiant Spartans, then the sottishe Hilotes; that our lawes were directed to rewarding of those whose lives are the first that must be hazarded to maineteyne the liberty of the lawes. The gentlemen of Carthage were not allowed to weare any more linkes in their chaynes, then they had seene battailes. If our gallantes of Englande might carry no more linkes in their chaynes, nor ringes on their fingers, then they have fought feelds, their neckes should not bee very often wreathed in golde, nor their handes imbrodered with precious stones. If none but they might be suffered to drinke out of plate, that have in skirmish slain one of her Majesties enemies, many thousands shoulde bring earthen pots to the table.

Let us learn by other mens harme to looke to our selves. When the Ægyptians were moste busy in their husbandrie, the Scythians overran them: when the Assyrians wer looking to their thrift, the Persians were in armes, and overcam them: when the Trojans thought themselves safest, the Greekes were nearest: when Rome was a sleepe, the Frenche men gave a sharpe assault to the Capitoll: when the Jewes were idle, their walles were rased and the Romans entred: when the Chaldees were sporting, Babilon was sacked: when the Senators were quiet, no garisons in Italy, and Pompey from home, wicked Catiline began his mischevous enterprise. We are like those unthankfull people which puffed up with prosperity forget the good turnes they received in adversity. The patient feeds his Phisition with gold in time of sicknes, and when he is wel, scarsely affoords him a cup of water. Some there are that make gods of soldiers in open warrs, and trusse them up like dogs in time of peace. Take heed of the foxeford night cap; I meane those schoolemen that cry out upon Mars, calling him

the bloody god, the angry god, the furious god, the mad god, *πολύδακρυς*, the teare thirsty god. These are but casts of their office and wordes of course. That is a vain brag, and a false allarme that Tullie gives to soldiers,

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ

Let guuns to gouns, and bucklers yeeld to bookes.

If the enemy beseege us, cut off our victuals, prevent forreine aide, girt in the city, and bring the ramme to the walles, it is not Ciceroes tongue that can peece their armour to wound the body, nor Archimedes prickles, and lines, and circles, and triangles, and rhombus, and riffe raffe that hath any force to drive them backe. Whilst the one chats, his throte is cut; whilst the other syttes drawing mathematicall fictions, the enimie standes with a sword at his breast. Hee that talketh much and doeth little is like unto him that sailes with a side wind, and is borne with the tide to a wrong shore. If they meane to doe any goode in deede, bidde them follow Demosthenes and joyne with Phocion; when they have geven us good counsel in wordes, make much of souldiers that are ready to execute the same with their swordes. Bee not carelesse; plough with weapons by your sides; studie with a booke in one hand, a darte in the other; enjoy peace with provision for warre; when you have left the sandes behinde you, looke well to the rockes that lie before you; let not the overcoming one tempest make you secure, but have an eye to the cloud that comes from the south, and threateneth rayne. The least oversight in dangerous seas may cast you away: the least discontinuance of martiall exercise geve you the foyle. When Achilles loytered in his tent, geving eare to musicke, his souldiers were bidde to a hot breakefaste. Hannibals power received more hurte in one dayes ease at Capua, then in al the conflicts they had at Cannas. It were not good for us to flatter our selves with these golden dayes: highe floodes have lowe ebbes; hotte fevers could crampes; long daies shorte

nightes, drie summers moyst winters. There was never fort so strong but it might be battered, never ground so fruitful but it might be barren, never countrie so populous but it might be wast, never monarch so mighty but he might be weakened, never realme so large but it might be lessened, never kingdom so flourishing but it might be decayed. Scipio before he levied his force to the walles of Carthage gave his souldiers the print of the cittie in a cake to be devoured: our enimies, with Scipio, have already eaten us with bread, and licked up our blood in a cup of wine. They do but tarry the tyde, watch opportunitie, and wayt for the reckoning, that with the shot of our lives shoulde paye for all. But that God that neither slumbreth nor sleepeth for the love of Israel, that stretcheth out his armes from morning to evening to cover his children (as the hen doth her chicken with the shadow of her wings) with the breath of his mouth shall overthrowe them, with their owne snares shall overtake them, and hang them up by the heare of their owne devises.

Laborers. Notwithstanding, it behoveth us in the mean

season not to sticke in the myer, and gape for succour without using some ordinarye waye our selves; or to lye wallowing like lubbers in the ship of the common wealth, crying Lord, Lord! when we see the vessell toyle, but joyntly lay our hands and heads and helps together to avoide the danger, and save that which must be the surety of us all. For as to the body ther are many members serving to severall uses, the eye to see, the eare to heare, the nose to smell, the tongue to tast, the hand to touch, the feet to beare the whole burden of the rest, and every one dischargeth his duety without grudging, so shoulde the whole body of the common wealth consist of fellow laborers, all generally serving one head, and particularly following their trade without repining. From the head to the foote, from top to the toe, there shoulde nothing be vaine, no body idle. Jupiter himself shall stand for example, who is ever in worke, still mooving and turning about the

heavens: if he should pull his hand from the frame, it were impossible for the world to endure. All would be day, or al night; al Spring or al Autume; all Sommer or all Winter; al heate or al could; al moysture or al drowght; no time to til, no time to sow; no time to plant, no time to reape; the earth barren, the rivers stopt, the seas stayde, the seasons chaunged, and the whole course of nature overthrowne. The meane must labor to serve the mighty; the mighty must study to defend the meane. The subjects must sweat in obedience to their Prince; the Prince must have a care over his poore vassals.

If it be the duety of every man in a common wealth one way or other to bestirre his stoomps, I cannot but blame those lither contemplators very much, which sit concluding of sillogismes in a corner, which in a close studye in the Universitye coope themselves up xl yeres together, studying al things and professe nothing. The bell is knowen by his sounde, the birde by her voyce, the lion by his rore, the tree by the fruite, a man by his woorkes. To continue so long without mooving, to reade so much without teaching, what differeth it from a dumbe picture, or a dead body? No man is born to seek private profit; part for his countrie, parte for his freends, part for himselfe. The foole that comes into a faire garden likes the beawty of the flowers, and stickes them in his cap: the phisition considereth their nature, and puttes them in the pot: in the one they wither without profite; in the other they serve to the health of the bodie. He that readeth good writers, and pickes out their flowers for his owne nose is like a foole: hee that preferreth their vertue before their sweet smel is a good phisition. When Anacharsis travelled all over Greece to seeke out wise men, he found none in Athens, though no doubt there were many good schollers there; but comming to Chenas, a blind village in comparison of Athens, a Palcockes Inne, he found one Miso, well governing his house, looking to his groundes, instructing his children, teaching his family, making

of marriages among his acquayntance, exhorting his neighbours to love and friendship, and preaching in life; whom the philosopher, for his scarcitie of woordes, plenty of workes, accompted the onely wiseman that ever he saw.

I speak not this to preferre Botley before Oxeford, a cottage of clownes before a colledge of Muses, Pans pipe before Apollos harp; but to shew you that poore Miso can reade you such a lecture of philosophie as Aristotle never dreamed on. You must not thruste your heades in a tubbe and say *Benè vivit, qui benè latuit*, hee hath lived well that hath loitred well. Standing streames geather filth; flowing rivers are ever sweet. Come foorth with your sicles, the harvest is greate, the laborers few: pul up the sluces, let out your springs, geve us drink of your water, light your torches and season us a little with the salt of your knowledge. Let Phoenix and Achilles, Demosthenes and Phocion, Pericles and Cimon, Lælius and Scipio, Nigidius and Cicero, the word and the sword, be knitte together. Set your talents a worke; lay not up your tresure for taking rust; teach early and late, in time and out of time; sing with the swan to the last houre. Follow the dauncing chaplens of Gradivus Mars, which chaunte the prayses of their god with voyces, and tread out the time with their feet. Play the good captaynes: exhort your souldiers with your tongues to fight, and bring the first ladder to the wall your selves: sound like bels and shine like lanternes; thunder in words and glister in workes; so shall you please God, profite your country, honor your prince, discharge your dueties, geve up a good accompt of your stewardship and leave no sinne untouched, no abuse unrebuked, no fault unpunished.

Sundry are the abuses, as well of Universityes as other Carpers. places, but they are such as neither become me to touch, nor every idle head to understand. The Thurines made a law that no common find fault should meddle with any abuse but adultery. Pythagoras bound all his

schollers to five yeers silence, that assoone as ever ^{εχρηθια} they crept from the shel, they might not aspire to Pithagoras. the house top. It is not good for every man to travell to Corinth, nor lawfull for all to talk what they list, or write what they please, least their tongs run before their wits, or their pennes make havock of their paper, and so wading too farre in other mens maners, whilst they fill their bookes with other mens faults, they make their volume no better then an apothecaries shop of pestilent drugges, a quackesalvers budget of filthy receites, and a huge chaos of fowle disorder. Cookes did never long more for great markets, nor fishers for large pondes, nor greedy dogs for store of game, nor soaring hawkes for plenty of foule, then carpers doe now for cotype of abuses, that they might ever bee snarling, and have some flyes or other in the waye to snatche at.

As I would that offences should not be hid for going unpunished, nor escape without scourge for il example, so I wishe that every rebuker should place a hatch before the doore, keepe his quill within compasse. He that holdes not himselfe contented with the light of the sunne, but liftes his eyes to measure the bignes, is made blinde : he that bites every weede to searche out his nature may lighte uppon poyson, and so kill himselfe : he that loves to be sifting of every cloude may be strooke with a thunderbolt, if it chance to rent, and hee that taketh uppon him to shewe men their faults may wound his owne credite, if he go too farre. We are not angry with the Clarke of the Market, if he come to our stall and reproove our bal-launce when they are faultie, or forfeit our weightes when they are false : nevertheles, if he presume to enter our house and rigge every corner, searching more then belongs to his office, we lay holde on his locks, turne him away with his backe full of stripes, and his handes loden with his own amendes. Therefore, I will contente my selfe to shewe you no more abuses in my Schoole, then myself have seene, nor so many by hundreds as I have hearde off. Lyons folde uppe there nailes when they

are in their dennes, for wearing them in the earth and nede not: eagles draw in their tallants as they set in their nestes, for blunting them there among drosse; and I will cast ancor in these abuses, reste my barke in this simple roade, for grating my wittes upon needlesse shelves. And because I accuse other for treading awry, which since I was borne never went right; because I finde so many faults abroad, which have at home more spottes on my body then the leopard, more staines on my coate then the wicked Nessus, more holes in my life then the open sive, more sinnes in my soule then heares on my head, if I have beene tedious in my lecture, or you be weary of your lesson, harken no longer for the clock, shut upp the Schoole, and get you home.

FINIS.

To the right honorable Sir Richard Pipe, Knight,
Lord Maior of the Cittie of London, and
the right worshipfull his brethren,
continuance of health, and
maintenance of civil
gouvernement.

Pericles was woont (right honorable and worshipful) as oft as he putte on his robes to prech thus unto himself: Consider wel, Pericles, what thou dost: thou commaundest free men; the Greeks obey thee, and thou governest the citizens of Athens. If you say not so much to your selves, the gownes that you weare as the cognisances of authority, and the sword which is caried befor you as the instrument of justice, are of sufficient force to put you in mind, that you are the masters of free men, that you governe the worshipfull citizens of London, and that you are the verye Stewards of her Majestie within your liberties.

Therefore, sith by my owne experience I have erected a Schoole of those abuses which I have seene in London, I presume the more uppon your pardon, at the ende of my pamphlet to present a few lines to your honourable reading.

Augustus, the good Emperour of Rome, was never angry with accusers, because hee thought it necessary (where many abuses florish) for every man freely to speake his minde. And I hope that Augustus (I meane suche as are in authoritie) will beare with mee, because I touch that whiche is needefull to be shoven. Wherein I goe not about to instruct you how to rule, but to warne you what danger hangs over your heads, that you may avoyde it.

The birde Trochilus with crashing of her bil awakes the crocodile, and delivereth her from her enemyes that are readye to charge her in dead sleepe. A little fishe swimmeth

continually before the great whale to shewe him the shelves, that he run not a ground. The elephants, when any of their kinde are fallen into the pittes that are made to catch them, thrust in stones and earth to recover them. When the lyon is caught in a trappe, Æsop's mouse, by nibling the cordes, sets him at libertie. It shall be inough for me with Trochilus to have wagged my bil; with the little fish to have gone before you; with the elephants to have showed you the way to helpe your selves; and with Æsop's mouse to have fretted the snares with a byting tooth for your owne safetie.

The Thracians, when they must passe over frosen streames, sende out their wolves, which, laying their eares to the yse, listen for noyse: if they heare any thing, they gather that it mooves: if it moove, it is not congealed; if it be not congealed, it must be liquide: if it be liquide, then will it yeelde; and if it yeelde, it is not good trusting it with the weight of their bodyes, lest they sinke. The worlde is so slipperie that you are often enforced to passe over yse: therefore, I humbly beseech you to try farther and trust lesse: not your wolues, but many of your citizens have alredy sifted the danger of your passage, and in sifting been swallowed to their discredit.

I would the abuses of my Schoole were as wel knowne of you to reformation, as they are found out by other to their owne peril. But the fish Sepia can trouble the water to shun the nets that are shot to catch her: Torpedo hath crafte enough at the first touch to enchant the hooke, to conjure the line, to bewitch the rod, and to benoom the hands of him that angleth. Whether our players be the spawnes of such fishes, I knowe not wel; yet I am sure that how many nets soever there be laid to take them, or hooks to choke them, they have ynke in their bowels to darken the water, and sleights in their budgettes to dry up the arme of every magistrate. If their letters of commendations were once stayed, it were easie for you to overthrow them. Agesilaus was greatly rebuked, because in matters of justice he enclined to his friends, and

became parcial: Plutarch condemneth this kind of writing *Niciam, si nihil admisit noxa, exime; si quid admisit, mihi exime; omnino autem hominem noxæ exime.* If Nicias have not offended, meddle not with him: if hee bee guyltie, forgyve him for my sake; whatsoever you doe, I charge you acquite him. This enforceth magistrates, like evill poets, to breake the feete of theyr verse and sing out of tune, and with unskilful carpenters to use the square and the compasse, the rule and the quadrant, not to build, but to overthrowe.

Bona verba quæso. Some saye that it is not good jesting with edge tooles. The Athenians will mince Phocion as smal as fleshe to pot, if they be mad, but kil Demades if they be sober; and I doubte not but the governours of London will vexe mee for speaking my minde, when they are out of their wittes, and banishe their players when they are best advised.

In the meane time it behooveth your Honour in your charge to playe the musition: stretch every string till hee breake, but set him in order. He that wil have the lampe to burne cleere, must as well poure in oyle to nourish the flame, as snuffe the weeke to increase the light. If your Honour desire to see the Citie well governed, you must as well set to your hand to thrust out abuses, as showe your selfe willing to have all amended. And (lest I seeme one of those idle mates, which having nothing to buy at home, and lesse to sell in the market abroad, stand at a booth if it be but to gase, or wanting worke in mine owne study, and having no witte to governe citties, yet busye my braynes with your honourable office) I wil heere end, desiring pardon for my fault, because I am rashe, and redresse of abuses because they are nought.

Your Honors &c. to commaunde

STEPHAN GOSSON.

To the Gentlewomen, Citizens
of London, flourishing
dayes, with regarde
of credite.

The reverence that I owe you, Gentlewomen, because you are citizens, and the pitie wherwith I tender your case, because you are weake, hath thrust out my hand, at the breaking up of my Schoole, to write a few lines to your sweete selves. Not that I thinke you to bee rebuked as idle huswives, but commended and encouraged as vertuous dames. The freest horse at the whiske of a wand gyrdes forward : the swiftest hound, when he is hallowed, strippes forth : the kindest mastife, when he is clapped on the backe, fighteth best : the stoutest souldier, when the trumpet sounds, strikes fiercest : the gallantest runner, when the people showte, getteth grounde, and the perfectest livers, when they are prayed, winne greatest credite.

I have seene many of you whiche were wont to sporte your selves at Theaters, when you perceived the abuse of those places, schoole your selves, and of your owne accord abhorre playes. And sith you have begun to withdrawe your steppes, continew so still, if you bee chary of your good name ; for this is generall, that they which shew themselves openly desyre to be seene. It is not a softe shooe that healeth the gowte ; nor a golden ring that driveth away the crampe ; nor a crowne of pearle that cureth the meigrim ; nor your sober countenance that defendeth your credite ; nor your freindes which accompany your person that excuse your folly ; nor your modesty at home that covereth your lightnesse, if you present your selves in open Theaters. Thought is free : you can forbydd no man that vieweth you to note you, and that noateth you to judge you for entring to places of suspicion : wild coultes, when they see their kind, begine to bray, and lusty

bloods at the shewe of faire women give a wantone sigh or a wicked wishe. Blasing markes are most shot at; glistring faces chiefly marked; and what followeth? Looking eies have lyking hartes; lyking hartes may burne in lust. We walke in the sun many times for pleasure, but our faces are tanned before wee returne: though you go to Theaters to see sport, Cupid may cache you ere you departe. The little god hovereth aboute you, and fanneth you with his wings to kindle fire: when you are set as fixed whites, Desire draweth his arrow to the head, and sticketh it uppe to the fethers, and Fancy bestireth him to shed his poyson through every vayne. If you doe but listen to the voyce of the fouler, or joyne lookes with an amorous gazer, you have already made your selves assaultable, and yeelded your cities to be sacked. A wanton eye is the darte of Cephalus: where it leveleth, there it lighteth, and where it hitts it woundeth deepe. If you give but a glaunce to your beholders, you have vayled the bonnet in token of obedience; for the boulte is fallen ere the ayre clap, the bullet paste ere the peece cracke, the colde taken ere the body shiver, and the match made ere you strike handes.

To avoyde this discommoditie Cyrus refused to looke upon Panthea, and Alexander the Great on Darius wife. The sicke man that relesheth nothing, when hee seeth some aboute him feede a pace, and commend the taste of those dishes which hee refused, blames not the meate, but his owne disease; and I feare you will say that it is no rype judgement, but a rawe humor in my selfe, which makes me condemne the resorting to playes; because there come many thyther which in your opinion sucke no poyson, but feede hartely without hurt; therefore, I doe very ill to reject that which other like, and complayne stil of mine owne maladie.

In deede, I must confesse, there comes to playes of al sortes, old and young: it is hard to saye that all offend, yet, I promise you, I wil sweare for none; for the dryest flax flameth soonest, and the greenest wood smoketh moste: gray heads

have greene thoughts, and young slipps are old twigges. Beware of those places which in sorrowe cheere you, and beguile you in mirth. You must not cut your bodyes to your garmentes, but make your gownes fit to the proportion of your bodies; nor fashion yourselves to open spectacles, but tye all your sportes to the good disposition of a vertuous minde. At Diceplay every one wisheth to caste well: at bowles every one craves to kisse the maister: at running every one starteth to winne the goale: at shooting every one strives to hit the marke; and will not you in all your pastimes and recreations seeke that which shall yeelede you most profite, and greatest credite? I will not say you are made to toyle, and I dare not graunt that you should be idle; but if there be peace in your houses, and plentie in your cofers, let the good precept of Xenophon be your exercise in all your ease and prosperitie: remember God that hee may be mindfull of you when your hartes grone, and succore you still in the time of neede. Be ever busied in godly meditations: seeke not to passe over the gulf with a tottering plank that will deceive you. When we cast off our best clothes, we put on ragges: when our good desiers are once laide aside, wanton will begines to pricke. Being pensive at home, if you go to Theaters to drive away fancies, it is as good phisicke as for the ache of your head to knocke out your brains, or when you are stung with a waspe to rub the sore with a nettle. When you are greeved, passe the time with your neighbours in sober conference, or if you canne reade, let bookes bee your comforte. Doe not imitate those foolishe patientes, which having sought all meanes of recovery and are never the neere, run unto witchcraft. If your greefe be such that you may not disclose it, and your sorrowe so great that you loth to utter it, looke for so salve at playes or Theaters, lest that laboring to shun Silla you light on Charibdis; to forsake the depe, you perish in sands; to warde a light stripe, you take a deathes wound, and to leave phisike you flee to inchaunting.

You neede not goe abroade to bee tempted : you shall bee intised at your owne windowes. The best councel that I can give you is to keepe at home, and shun all occasion of ill speech. The virgins of Vesta were shut up fast in stone walles to the same end. You must keepe your sweete faces from scorching in the sun, chapping in the winde, and warping in the weather, which is best perfourmed by staying within ; and if you perceiue your selves in any danger at your owne doores, either allured by curtesie in the day, or assaulted with musike in the night, close uppe your eyes, stoppe your eares, tye up your tongues : when they speake, answeare not ; when they hallowe, stoope not ; when they sigh, laugh at them ; when they sue, scorne them. Shunne their company : never be seene where they resort ; so shall you neither set them proppes when they seeke to climbe, nor holde them the stirrope when they proffer to mount.

These are harde lessons which I teache you : neverthelesse, drinke uppe the potion, though it like not your tast, and you shal be eased : resist not the surgeon, though hee strike with his knife, and you shall bee cured. The fig tree is sower, but it yeeldeth sweete fruite : thymus is bitter, but it giveth honny : my Schoole is tarte, but my counsell is pleasant, if you imbrace it. Shortly I hope to send out the discourses of my Phylo, by whom (if I see you accept this) I will give you one dish for your own tooth.

Farewel.

Yours to serve at vertues call,

STEPHAN GOSSON.

NOTES.

Page 3, line 27. *Hómer's Iliades in a nutte shell.*] A curious instance of the literal completion of such an undertaking has recently come to light, in a copy of Peele's "Tale of Troy," printed in 1604, in a minute volume about an inch and a half tall, by an inch broad. The text varies slightly from that of the edition of 1589, 4to; and the title-page of this literary curiosity runs thus: "The Tale of Troy. By G. Peele, M. of Artes in Oxford. Printed by A. H. 1604." The colophon is as follows: "London. Printed by Arnold Hatfield dwelling in Eliot's court in the Little old Baylie. And are to be sold by Nicholas Ling. 1604." It goes as far in the signatures as Q 6, in eights.

Page 12, line 5. *Drummes entertainment.*] See note to "All's well that ends well." A. III. Sc. 6. Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, x. 417.

Page 19, line 1. *Bringing sweet comfortes into Theaters.*] Probably we ought to read "sweet *consortes*," in reference to the music introduced into play-houses. It stands *comfortes* in the original edit.

Page 23, line 3. *The shaking of the sheetes with Domitia.*] The old copy reads, by a misprint, "*which* Domitia."

Page 28, line 11. *Sounded with lead.*] Again, in the original, we have *which* printed for *with*.

Page 29, line 15. *Set downe the limits of apparel to every degree.*] See in "the Egerton Papers," printed by the Camden Society, p. 247, one of Queen Elizabeth's Proclamations for this purpose printed at large.

Page 30, line 4. *The Jew.*] Most likely a play on the same story as that of "the Merchant of Venice."

Page 38, line 12. *If our gallantes of Englande might carry no more linkes in their chaynes.*] The custom of wearing gold chains by gentlemen, or by those who affected to be such, is often mentioned by later writers. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London continue to carry them; and the practice, with the excuse of its being a watch-guard, has recently been revived.

Page 46. *Letters of commendations.*] The allusion here is to the letters of protection, which noblemen were in the habit of granting to players who acted or travelled under their names. One of the earliest is that of Sir R. Dudley to Lord Shrewsbury, dated June, 1559, printed in the Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, i. 170.

Page 51, line 28. *Shortly I hope to send out the discourses of my Phialo.*] In the edition of 1587, Gosson calls the work "the Ephemerides of Phialo." It was printed with the same date as the earliest edition of the Schoole of Abuse, 1579, and contains a "short apology" for that work, which had been attacked in print in the interval between the publication of the Schoole of Abuse, and the appearance of the Ephemerides of Phialo.

A DEFENCE OF POETRY, MUSIC,
AND STAGE-PLAYS,

BY THOMAS LODGE,
OF LINCOLN'S INN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, BY THE SAME AUTHOR,
AN ALARUM AGAINST USURERS;

AND
THE DELECTABLE HISTORY
OF
FORBONIUS AND PRISCERIA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.



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INTRODUCTION.

As the present volume has only a partial reference to dramatic performances, it may very probably disappoint the expectations of some Members of the Shakespeare Society. It was however most desirable that the suppressed tract of Lodge, in answer to Gosson's "School of Abuse," should be preserved in an accessible form; and, as it was too inconsiderable in bulk to appear by itself, it is accompanied with an accurate reprint of the earliest of the same author's numerous publications, in which he protests against "the unjust slander" with which he had been assailed by Gosson, in his later work, "Playes confuted in Five Actions," without date, but printed about the year 1582. This treatise, "An Alarum against Usurers," is in other respects not unworthy of notice, as it exposes the craft and subtlety of a class of men who are found in most countries, delineated by the author from his own observation, or, as his words might infer, his personal experience. It also furnishes an early specimen of that conversational style which De Foe has employed so effectively in his various fictitious narratives.

Having obtained the use of the curious little volume of tracts relating to Stage Plays, which contains Lodge's Reply to Gosson, and which was purchased at Heber's sale (Part IV., No. 2,334) by the late William Henry Miller, Esq., of Craigentenny, with permission to have it transcribed for the use of the Shakespeare Society, I was led, somewhat incautiously, to undertake the editing of the present volume, instead of leaving it wholly in the more competent hands of Mr. Payne Collier, a gentleman to whom the Society is under such manifold obligations; but with his friendly assistance, the task has not proved very arduous.

The increasing attractions of theatrical entertainments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were attended with serious abuses. The crowds, in particular, which flocked on the Sundays to places of popular amusement, occasioned loud complaints and remonstrances on the part of the Puritan ministers. As dramatic performances were however encouraged and patronized by the Queen herself and many of the nobility, the denunciations in sermons preached at Paul's Cross, and even the prohibition of the Mayor and Aldermen of London, which prevented the erection of a theatre within the bounds of the City, had no effect in checking the evil.

Two years after the appearance of Northbrooke's "Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes," Stephen Gosson, who had himself been a writer for the Stage, published his "School of Abuse." Both these works

have been reprinted in the series of the Society's publications, and edited by Mr. Collier, with his usual fidelity. In the same year, 1579, Gosson published another work, entitled "The Ephemerides of Phialo," at the end of which he annexed "A short Apologie of the School of Abuse; against Poets, Pipers, Players, and their Excusers." In this Apology Gosson tells us that the Players, having in vain applied to some members of the Universities to answer his former publication, they at length "had found one in London to write certain honest Excuses, for so they term it, to their dishonest Abuses which I revealed." To what individual he alludes, cannot be ascertained. Mr. Collier, I think rather inadvertently, says this "alludes to Thomas Lodge the dramatist, who very soon afterwards published his reply to Stephen Gosson." It is however by no means clear that this was the case, when we consider his words. "Our players," (he says) "since I set out the *Schole of Abuse*, have travailed to some of mine acquaintance of both Universities, with fayre profers, and greater promises of rewardes, if they woulde take so much paines as to write against mee; at last, like to Penelopee's suters, which seeing themselves disdained of her, were glad to encroch with some of her maides, when neither of both Universities would heare their plea, they were driven to flie to a weake hedge, and fight for themselves with a rotten stake.....It is tolde mee that they have got one in London to write certaine *Honest Excuses*, for so they tearme it, to their dishonest Abuses which I revealed:

.....I staye my hande till I see his booke; when I have perused it, I wil tel you more." As Lodge's tract makes no mention of this Apology, the two sheets of which it consists may have already been in the printer's hands; and before being corrected, when the usual license for publication was refused, only a few copies may have been thrown off. But Gosson's distinction, "one in London," in contrast with some persons in both Universities, will not apply to Lodge, although at that time he probably resided in London. It is at least evident that they had no personal acquaintance, although they were students at Oxford at the same time, and took their degree of Bachelor of Arts within seven months of each other. When Lodge's tract came into Gosson's hands, as something unexpected on his part, he expressly states, this was "one whole yeere after the privy printing thereof;" and consequently, several months subsequent to the publication of his "Ephemerides."

This, after all, is a matter of no importance, and it is therefore scarcely necessary to remark, that a tract issued under such circumstances was not likely to be the one specially written in favour of the Players at the time, when, in consequence of "his Defiance unto Players," Gosson says he "*was mightely besett with heaps of adversaries.*" Of these productions he has preserved the outline of one named "The Play of Plays,"¹ "written in their owne defence," which was brought on the Stage, but probably never printed. Another

¹ In his "Playes Confuted," sign. F., 1-3. See also Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. ii., p. 275.

anonymous tract, of which unfortunately no copy is known to exist, is noticed, in his "Ephemerides," as having passed through the press, in 1579, under the disguised title of "Strange Newes from Affrica."

There is however no occasion to enlarge further on the various works for or against the Stage which appeared at this time, after the detailed information which Mr. Collier has prefixed to the reprints of the two volumes to which I have already alluded. But I may be allowed to express the hope that he will complete the series, by the republication of Gosson's "Short Apology," printed in 1579, and of his latter work, "Playes confuted in Five Actions," as these contain, within a limited compass, much curious matter relating to the Stage. On the present occasion, it may be more suitable for me to endeavour to collect the scattered notices relating to the personal history of Lodge, and to subjoin an enumeration of his writings, as a tribute to his memory which cannot be considered an unsuitable addition to the present volume, as the publication of a Society whose object it is to illustrate the history not merely of the Drama, but of English Literature during the remarkable period in which the author flourished.

In this attempt, however unsuccessful it may be, I found it necessary to supply some local disadvantages by seeking the friendly aid of others. I would specially desire to acknowledge how much I have been indebted to the following gentlemen: John Payne Collier, Esq., and Peter Cunningham, Esq., two of the most efficient members of the Shakespeare So-

ciety; the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, and the Rev. Henry O. Coxe, Oxford; Samuel Christy, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Irving, Edinburgh; W. H. Spilsbury, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Library; and Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King-at-Arms, through the kind intervention of W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., Advocate. Nor must I omit my hearty thanks for the liberal use accorded to me of several of Lodge's tracts preserved in the rich and interesting library collected by the late Mr. Miller of Craigentenny.

DAVID LAING.

Edinburgh, June, 1853.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THOMAS LODGE AND HIS WRITINGS.

“ Who does not wish to know all that can be known of an author who could write such stanzas as the following?—

“ ‘ See where the babes of memory are laid,
Under the shadow of Apollo’s tree ;
That plait their garlands fresh, and well apaid,
And breath forth lines of dainty poesy.
Ah ! world farewell : the sight hereof doth tell,
That true content doth in the desert dwell.

“ ‘ Sweet solitary life, thou true repose,
Wherein the wise contemplate Heaven aright,
In thee no dread of war or worldly foes,
In thee no pomp seduceth mortal sight ;
In thee no wanton cares to win with words,
Nor lurking toys which city life affords.

“ ‘ At peep of day, when in her crimson pride
The Morn bespreads with roses all the way
Where Phœbus’ coach with radiant course must glide,
The hermit bends his humble knees to pray ;
Blessing that God whose bounty did bestow
Such beauties on the earthly things below.’

“ These sweet lines, and many more of the same flow and fancy, were written by Thomas Lodge, considerably more than two hundred and fifty years ago, in a poem ‘ In commendation of a Solitary Life ;’ and, avoiding certain uncouthnesses of antique spelling, it is obvious that, for the grace and facility of the verse, and for the beauty and simplicity of the sentiment, the lines might have been written yesterday—

if, indeed, any of our living 'babes of memory' could equal the ease, purity, and piety of Lodge."

Such is the commencement of a paper on "Thomas Lodge and his Works," by John Payne Collier, Esq., which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1850, and which contains a minute and interesting enumeration of his several works. Had this been followed by one or more papers, as proposed, giving an account of Lodge's personal history, and a general and comprehensive view of his character, the present attempt would have been superfluous.

THOMAS LODGE was the second son of Sir Thomas Lodge (grocer), Lord Mayor of London in 1563, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Laxton (grocer), Lord Mayor of London in 1542. He was born, there is reason for supposing, about the year 1558, either in London, or at West Ham, in Essex. He himself repeatedly speaks of "the offspring from whence he came" as a lineage of which he had no reason to be ashamed; and, either in accordance with the fashion of the time, or in consequence of the imputations thrown out against him by his early antagonist, Stephen Gosson, he uniformly styles himself "Gentleman." Wood derives his descent "from a family of that name in Lincolnshire" (he should have written, I suspect, Shropshire), and in a pedigree, still believed to be extant, Sir Thomas Lodge (the father), claims to be the representative of Odoard de Logis, Baron of Wigton, in the county of Cumberland, in the reign of Henry I.¹

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1834, vol. ii., p. 157.

Without attempting to assign London or its vicinity as the place of his birth, we have his own authority, at a later period of his life, that he "was bred and brought up in the City."¹ Sir William Laxton died on the 29th of July, 1556, and his funeral took place on the 9th of August, when his son-in-law, Lodge, acted as chief mourner.² In 1559, Sir Thomas Lodge, the father of the poet, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London, and in 1562, Lord Mayor. On the 18th of April, 1563, Sir Thomas, still Lord Mayor, had a son christened;

¹ Vincent: *Salop* in Coll. Armor, p. 509.—"Thomas Lodge, born at Cound, settled in London as a grocer, and was Lord Mayor of London in 1562." (Hulbert's *Manual of Shropshire Biography*, p. 21.)

The following verses were placed on the tomb of Sir William and Lady Laxton in the church of St. Mary, Aldermary, London:—

"Sir William Laxton lies interred within this hollow vault,
That by good life had happy death, the end for which he sought,
Of poor and rich he was belov'd, his dealings they were just,
God hath his Soul, his body here consumed is to dust.

"Here lies by Fame, that lately died, Sir William Laxton's Wife,
That ever was a doer good, and liv'd a virtuous life:
A mindful Matron of the poor, and to the learned sort,
A true and faithful citizen and died with good report."

"He died the 29th day of July, 1556." Sir Thomas and Lady Lodge (the father and mother of the poet) are also buried in St. Mary, Aldermary. Lady Laxton left £100 to her grandson Thomas Lodge student of Lincoln's Inn.

² After the burial in St. Mary's Church, Aldermary, there was an entertainment given, where "dyned many worshipfull men and women." The hearse still burning with wax, it is recorded by a citizen of London, that, on the last day of that month, "after mass, and a sermon, there was another" great dinner, and after dinner the hearse was taken down. (The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Tailor of London: edited for the Camden Society by John Gough Nichols, Esq.; pp. 111, 113. London, 1848, 4to.)

William Earl of Pembroke being one of the god-fathers.¹ Sir Thomas's name also occurs as one of five merchant adventurers, at whose expense a vessel was fitted out for Guinea, in February, 1562-3, returning in August; and again, in the following year.²

Lady Lodge was courted by authors when her son, the future poet, was a minor, the Registers of the Stationers' Company recording under the 7th of April, 1579, that Edward White obtained a license for printing a small work, "The Myrror of Modestie."³ The author was Thomas Salter, and it was dedicated by the publisher to Lady Anne Lodge. The full title of the little book is this:—

"A Mirrhor mete for all Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie, no lesse profitable and pleasant, then necessarie to bee read and practised.

"Imprinted at London for Edward White, at the little North dore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun."

¹ Machyn's Diary, p. 117.

² Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii., part 2, pp. 54, 55. Lond., 1599, folio. "Which Voyage is also written in verse by Robert Baker." This refers to "The first voyage of Robert Baker to Guinie, with the Minion and Primrose, set out in October, 1562, by Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin:" also, "The second voyage to Guinie, and the river of Sesto, set out in the moneth of November, 1563, by Sir William Garrard," &c. Hakluyt inserted Baker's poetical accounts in his first Collection, London, 1589, but he omitted them in his enlarged work, in 1599.—To these voyages has been assigned the unenvied distinction of having laid the foundation of the infamous traffic of slaves, which was afterwards countenanced by Queen Elizabeth. (Bancroft's *United States*, 4th edition, vol. i., p. 173; Grahame's *History of North America*, vol. i., p. 16, edit, Lond., 1837. 4 vols., 8vo.)

³ Registers of the Stationers' Company, vol. ii., p. 86. (Shakespeare Society.)

As only two copies of this volume are known, the dedication is here subjoined.

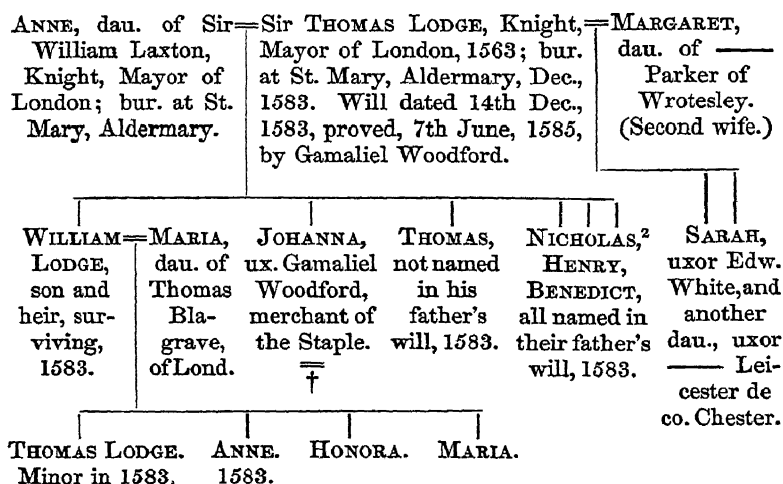
“To the right vertuous Matrone, and singuler good Ladie Anne, wife to the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Lodge knight, E. W. wisheth long life and prosperous estate.

“Having a long tyme debated with myself (my very good Lady) after the copie of this Pamphlete was come into my handes, too whom I might best dedicate the same, your L. at last came to my remembraunce, as the Ladie too whom I did knowe my self to be so greatly beholden, by many received courtesses, that I could not but confesse my self bound to be mindfull of requitall, to the uttermoste of my power, and therefore notyng the title that it beareth, beyng the Mirrhor of Modestie, I knewe none so worthie (at least to whom I was indetted of duetie) as your Ladiship to be patronesse hereof, because that the vertue whereof it beareth the title dooeth so gloriously shine in you, as verie Envie her self cannot but confesse (much rather a right demyng mynde) that it is your desarte to have it, bothe for affirmyng that whiche is contened therein (by your life) to be laudable, and also to incorage other by your supporte to followe your stepps, to attain to your atchived fame. Wherefore, although the gift be far unable to gratifie the least part of the favour I have found, yet I have boldly presumed too presente it unto you, as beeyng assured (consideryng your courteous Nature) of courteous acceptation, and the rather because it is a Mirrhor to teache Maidens to be Modest, whereof you have alwaies been a Mistresse, and therefore maye the better judge if it bee well wrought, by perusyng it at your beste leasure, whiche not doubtyng but ye will dooe, I cease from further troublunge you, with my duetifull commendations, and daiely intercession to the Almightye, for the happie estate and prosperitie of your Ladishippe, that am your worshippes moste bounden, E. W.”

This is followed by an “Epistle to all Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens of Englande,” on four pages, and that by the body of the work. It is ended by “A pretie pithie Dialogue betwene Mercurie and Vertue. Made by T. S.”¹

¹ The body of the book is thus subscribed, at the end, on sign. D 6^b.—
“*Finis* q. *Thomas Salter*.”

Lady Anne did not long survive the dedication, as White, its publisher, on the 29th of December, 1579, obtained a license for "An Epitaph of the Lady Anne Lodge;" and what renders this chiefly worthy of notice is, that in the Register the name "T. Lodge" is added, as the author; but no copy of this Epitaph or Elegy has been discovered. Her husband, Sir Thomas Lodge, survived till February, 1583-4,¹ and it appears, from the following pedigree, communicated by Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King-at-Arms, that he had contracted a second marriage.



¹ His epitaph was in the church of St. Mary, Aldermary :—

"Here lieth buried Sir Thomas Lodge, Knight, and Dame Anne his Wife. He was Lord Mayor in the year of our Lord God 1563, when God did visit this city with a great Plague for our Sins. *For we are sure that our Redeemer liveth, and that we shall rise out of the Earth in the latter day, &c.* Job. 19."

² That Thomas Lodge the poet was the second real son of the Lord Mayor, is proved conclusively by the following monument in Rolleston

As Thomas, the second son, is not named in his father's will, the omission confirms the fears of the mother as I shall have occasion to show, and also the attacks of Gosson, his antagonist.

A passage in Lodge's "Alarum against Usurers," 1584, is worthy of notice, where "the young Gentleman" involved in difficulties by his extravagant mode of living, is thus addressed by his father:—

"How tenderly, good boye, *in thy mother's lyfe* wast thou cherished! How dearly beloved! How well instructed! Did I ever entice thee to vice? Nay, rather enforced I thee not to love vertue? And whence commeth it that all these good instructions are swallowed up by one sea of thy follie? *In the Universities thy wit was praised*, for that it was pregnant; thy preferment great, for that thou deservedst it; so that, before God, I did imagine that my honour shuld have beginning in thee alone, and be continued by thy offspring; but *beeing by me brought to the Innes of Court*, a place of abode for our English gentry, and the onely nurserie of true learning, I finde thy nature quite altered, and where thou first shuldest have learnt law, thou art become lawlesse."

It is scarcely possible to avoid drawing the inference that Lodge was in some measure describing his own "tried experience."

Church, Nottinghamshire, erected to the memory of his immediate younger brother:—

"Underneath lieth the body of Nicholas Lodge, gent., third son of Sir Thomas Lodge, sometimes Lord of this Manor of Rolleston, whose piety towards many orphans, his allies, and friends are extant in his Will, to the poor of the parish notified by his bequest, his upright dealing testified by all he knew. He died September 25, 1612.

"Thomas Lodge, Doctor Medicus, testamenti sui solus Executor clarissimo fratri amoris sui testimonium moerens posuit."

Nicholas Lodge's will, dated 29 August, 1612, contains the following bequest:—"To the wife of my dear brother, Thomas Lodge, five pounds to buy her a pair of bracelets of gold in remembrance of my love to her." Her christian name unfortunately is not given. His brother William was alive and his brother Henry dead when he made his will.

Lodge's first entry into the University of Oxford, says Anthony Wood, was in 1573, and "he was afterwards servitor and scholar under the learned and virtuous Mr. Edward Hoby, of Trinity College, where making early advances, his ingenuity began at first to be observed by several of his compositions in poetry."¹ Lodge himself, in a dedication to Henry Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household, thus refers to his studies at Oxford: "Other reasons more particular (right Honourable) challenge in me a speciall affection to your Lordship, as being a scholler with your two noble sonnes, Master Edmond Carew and M. Robert Carew, (two siens worthie of so honourable a tree, and a tree glorious in such honourable fruite) as also being a scholler in the Universitie under that learned and vertuous Knight, Sir Edward Hobbie, when he was Batcheler in Arts, a man as well lettered as well borne,"² &c.

Thomas Lodge, of Trinity College, took his degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 8th of July, 1577. His classical attainments sufficiently prove that he had not neglected his studies, although, for some reason not explained, he did not remain at Oxford the usual period to qualify himself for taking the higher degree of Master of Arts. Soon after his return to his friends in London, he was admitted, on the 26th of April, 1578, into the Society of Lincoln's Inn.³

¹ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Dr. Bliss, vol. ii., p. 382.

² See this dedication at page xxviii.

³ The elder Thomas Lodge was admitted into the Society of Lincoln's

His sureties were Robert Hungate and Edward Thornesby. His name occurs again among those below the bar, who had to keep their vacations in 1579, but in the records, from the 24th to the 30th Elizabeth, inclusive, the names are wholly omitted.

There is no evidence of his having ever been called to the bar, and it seems reasonable to infer that his attachment to literature had withdrawn his mind from pursuing his career as a barrister, for the charge brought against him by Gosson of "leading a vagrant life" is in some respects supported by his mother's will, wherein (1579) she bequeaths the use of a portion of her property towards "his finding at his book at Lincoln's Inn," and the remainder to him, on his attaining the age of twenty-five, with this provision, however, that should he "discontinue his

Inn 8th of October, 1561. His sureties were John Bowyer and John Ronyon. While a student, he seems to have acted as Sub-Treasurer, as is shown by the following order made at a council held on the feast of All Saints, 9 Eliz. (1 November, 1567):—"It is granted to Mr. Thomas Lodge, late Under-Treasurer of this Societie, for his great paines taken in the [collection] of the duties of this Societie, shall have xx^s. to him paid of the benevolence of this Societie by Mr. Robert Mounson, now Treasurer of this Societie." His name again appears, 2nd February, (1570) 12 Eliz., as Sub-Treasurer and on the 4th of June, in the same year, among the names of persons to be called to the bar "at the next moote," is the following order: "——and that Mr. Lodge shall be likewise called to the barre, so that he leave practisinge as an Attorneye within one yeare next, and otherwise not to be accounted as an utter-barrister afterwards." During the next three years his name is entered at different times among the barristers keeping their vacations. *William Lodge* was admitted into the Society on the 30th of July, (1572) 14 Eliz., Thomas Morte and Thomas Lodge being his sureties. After this, the name of the elder Lodge disappears from the books, and that of Lodge junior is twice entered as keeping vacations (in 16 Eliz.) among the names below the bar.

studies" and cease to be what "a good student ought to be," his share, on the decision of his father, should be divided among his brothers.¹

Gosson's "Schoole of Abuse, containing a pleasant invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Commonwealth," was published at London in 1579. Lodge, who had already distinguished himself by his literary attainments, with all the zeal of youthful ambition, wrote his remarks, not in the way of defending the persons engaged in theatrical entertainments, but of vindicating the lovers of poetry, music, and the drama, and to protest against these liberal arts being held up to public contempt. Gosson, says Sir Walter Scott, "appears to have been a man of extensive learning, which, according to the pedantic custom of the time, he fails not to exhibit by classic quotation, rather more liberal than well judged."² In this respect, Lodge was not far behind him. His remarks, in the form of a pamphlet, consisting of sixteen leaves, were suppressed before publication, probably in consequence of the usual license being refused; but a few copies had found their way into private circulation, without title-page, preface, or name of the author. This tract forms the first article in the present volume. One of these copies came accidentally into the possession of Gosson after a considerable interval, for he says, "Amongest all the favourers of these uncircumcised Philistines, I meane

¹ The notices from this and other wills, have been kindly supplied while the sheet was at press, by Peter Cunningham, Esq.

² Somers's Tracts, vol. iii., p. 552.

the Plaiers, whose heartes are not right, no man til of late durst thrust out his heade to mayntaine their quarrell [meaning, probably, in an open, avowed manner] but one, in witt, simple; in learning, ignorant; in attempt, rash; in name, Lodge; whose booke, as it came not to my handes in one whole yeere after the privy printing thereof," &c. In the dedication of this work to Sir Francis Walsingham, he further states, among "the Defendantes of Players," he "thought it necessarye to nettle one of their Orators above the rest, not of any set purpose to deface hym, because he hath dealt very grossely, homely, and uncharitably with me, but like a good surgeon, to cut and to seare, when the place requireth, for his own amendment. Which thinge I trust shall neither displease your honor, nor any of the godly, in the reading, so long as the person whom I touch is (as I heare by hys owne frendes,¹ to hys repentance if he can perceive it) hunted by the heavy hand of God, and become little better than a vagarant, looser than liberty, lighter than vanitie itselfe." The work containing this attack bears the title of "Playes Confuted in five Actions, proving that they are not to be suffred in a Christian common weale; by the waye, both the Cavils of Thomas Lodge, and the Play of Playes, written in their defence, and other obiections of Players frendes, are truly set downe and

¹ So little was Gosson acquainted with him, that he calls him "William Lodge;" but, having discovered his mistake, he corrected this in the title-page, and a slip, with the name *Thomas*, is found in some copies pasted over *William*.

directlye answered." It has no date, but was printed about the year 1582.

That Lodge had at this time been visited "by the heavy hand of God," appears from his own words. In 1581, he aided Barnaby Riche, a somewhat voluminous author, in correcting the style of one of his works, "The straunge and wonderfull Adventures of Don Simonides, a Gentilman Spaniarde." In some commendatory verses which follow the preface, Lodge says—

"Good Riche, a wise man hardly can denye
But that your booke by me ill-mended is:"

and then, in reference to himself, he adds:—

"Whose long distresse hath laid his Muse to rest,
Or dull his sprightes, or sences at the lest."

These lines are interesting, as a proof of the early proficiency in poetical composition which had attracted notice while a student at Oxford. The whole of this address to Riche may be quoted.

"THOMAS LODGE, GENTILMAN, IN PRAISE OF THE
AUCTHOURS WORKE.

"Where wanteth judgement and advised eye
To noate or coate the thyng that is amisse,
Good Riche, a wise man hardly can denye
But that your booke by me ill-mended is:
My hedde suche pleasure can not brooke by gis,
Whose long distresse hath laied his Muse to rest,
Or dull his sprightes, or sences at the lest.

"Some errours yet, if any such there bee,
Your willyng mynde maie quickly them subdue,
For wise men winke, when often tymes thei see,
Yet fooles are blynde, when moste thei seeme to vewe,
Of proude contempt this mischief doeth ensue,
That he that scornes the fruite of honest toile,
From bace regard, hymself can scarce assoile.

"The wisest men, for that thei mortall were,
 Did runne amisse, and kept not leuell; still
 Some wanton woorkes, some graver stile did beare,
 Yet eche proceeded from the self same quill:
 Wee ought not thinke that those mens myndes were ill,
 For sure the vice that thei did laye in sight
 Was for to make it growe in more despight.

"I leave thee now, my Muse affordes no more;
 A dolefull dumpe pulles backe my pleasaunt vaine;
 Looke thou for praise by men of learned lore,
 Despise the skoffe that growes from shuttle braine;
 For me, I honour thee for taking paine,
 And wishe eche youth that spendes his tyme amisse
 Would fixe his penne to write suche woorkes as this.

"Vita misero longa, felici brevis."

But the charge which Gosson brought against Lodge as a person of a "vagrant life," seems to have suggested the notion, which has been so often repeated as a well-established fact, that Lodge himself had become a "player." That this was the case, rests, I fear, on no other testimony than the use made by Henslowe in describing Lodge, of the term "player;" a name in Lodge's time equally applicable to an actor and a writer for the stage—a playwright. When, however, in 1584, Lodge published his "Alarum against Usurers," he appeals to his courteous friends, the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, to protect "my person from that reproach which about two years since an injurious caviller objected against me." As this work, containing the *Primordia* of his studies, and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, forms the chief portion of the present volume, it is unnecessary to quote his own words in reply to Gosson,

who, "not measuring me by my birth, but by the subject I handled," had thus "slandered me without cause." It has been remarked that the tone of his address, in referring to the injurious aspersions of his antagonist, places Lodge's character in a candid and amiable point of view.¹

Although for several years he still designed himself "Thomas Lodge, of Lincolnes Inn, Gentleman," he seems never to have entertained the idea of adhering to the legal profession, as a barrister; and we have his own authority for stating that, "being my selfe first a Student, and afterwards falling from bookes to armes," he quitted his peaceful studies for a more adventurous life. In his subsequent publications, he alludes to two expeditions in which he was concerned. The first may be assigned to the year 1587 or 1588, when he accompanied Captain Clarke, probably in one of those marauding expeditions which were so frequent at this period against the Spanish and Portuguese settlements. To the Gentlemen Readers he says: "To be briefe, roome for a souldier and a sailer, that gives you the fruits of his labors that he wrought in the Ocean, when everie line was wet with a surge, and everie humorous passion was countercheckt with a storme."

¹ Collier's *Poetical Decameron*, vol. ii., p. 229. The writer of a valuable article on Lodge in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that, "previously to his [Lodge's] commencing a vagrant life, he made a will, dated 1583, in the preamble to which he states that being of sound mind and body but fully impressed with the uncertainty of human life, he thinks it fitting to devise his property, in case of accident, to his wife Joan and his daughter Mary. He also bequeaths his law books to a person named Sheriton." If such a will was actually made by Thomas Lodge the poet, it may safely be assumed it was not as a prelude to a vagrant life.

In this voyage to “the Islands of Terceras and the Canaries,” to beguile the time with labour, as he says in the dedication of his *Rosalynde*, “I writ this booke; rough as hatcht in the stormes of the ocean, and feathered in the surges of many perrilous seas.” Tercera, an island near the west coast of Africa, forming part of the group of the Azores, was a Portuguese settlement; but no account of Captain Clarke’s expedition has been recorded.

In 1589, having returned to England, Lodge published a volume of poems, containing “the most pithie and pleasant Historie of Glaucus and Silla.” In the dedication of the volume, intended at first for his own personal friends, he states his reason for making it public.

“To his Especiall good friend Master Rafe Crane, and the rest of his most entire well willers, the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court and Chauncerie, Thomas Lodge, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent., wisheth increase of worship and continuance in vertue.

“Sweete Master Crane, I had not thought at this instant to have partaked my passions with the print, whose discontented thoughts so long inured to obscuritie, were divorced many yeares since from vaine glories inordinate follie; but the base necessitie of an extravagant melancholie mate, that had no other *vnde* of *quod ad victum attinet* but the forestalling of other mens inventions, made my imperfit Poems (in spite of waste paper) to hazard an apprenticeship in Powles: so that that which in the first peeping foorth was wholie predestinate to your friendship by an underhand marte, is made the mercinarie recreation of everie ridiculous mate. Our Wits now adaies are waxt verie fruitefull, and our Pamphleters more than prodigall: so that the postes which stoode naked a tedious *non terminus*, doo vaunt their double apparrell as soone as ever the Exchequer openeth; and everie corner is tooke up with some or other penelesse companion that will imitate any estate for a two-pennie almes. I could afford you whole services of absurdities, that would disquiet the digestion of Arte, *usque ad pascam*, were it not that I pittie to particu-

larize simple fellowes imperfections, and am altogether loath to adventure my paines in so ungratefull a Province. For transformed Scilla, however she hapned now to bee disjoyned from disdainfull Charybdis, thinke not but if they have good shipping they will meete ere long both in one shop: and landed they had at this instant, in one and the self same bay, if Scilla (the unfortunater of the two) had not met with a mudie pirate by the way. Arrived shee is, though in a contrary coast, but so wrackt and weatherbeaten through the unskilfulnes of rough writers, that made their poast haste passage by night, as Glaucus would scarce know her if he met her. Yet my hope is, Gentlemen, that you will not so much imagine what she is, as what shee was: insomuch as from the shop of the Painter shee is falne into the hands of the stainer. Thus referring the supportance of my credit, and the inability of my verse to your ingenious opinions, I bid you farewell till the next Tearn; at which time I hope to entertaine your severall delights with farre better discourses, and bee suppliant to my good frend Master Crane in some or other more acceptable Poem. In the meane time, let my appliable *voluisse* intitle me to your curtesie: whose I am during life in all enterchangeable dutie.

“Your friend assured,

“*Thomas Lodge.*”

At this period of his life Lodge appears to have devoted himself wholly to literary pursuits; and in 1590 he published his “*Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie;*” said, in reference to the place where it was written, to have been “*fetcht from the Canaries.*” This pastoral romance was the most popular of all his works, and it was honoured in having furnished Shakespeare with the plot of “*As You Like It.*” In reprinting this novel, in the series of works “*used by Shakespeare as the foundation of his dramas,*” Mr. Collier says, “*We cannot hesitate to declare it a very amusing and varied composition, full of agreeable and graceful invention, (for we are aware of no foreign authority for any of the incidents) and with much natural force and simplicity in the style of the*

narrative. That it is here and there disfigured by the faults of the time, by forced conceits, by lowness of allusion and expression, and sometimes by inconsistency and want of decorum in the characters, cannot be denied. These are errors which the judgment and genius of Shakespeare taught him to avoid; but the admitted extent and nature of his general obligations to Lodge afford a high tribute to its excellence.The resemblance throughout will be found rather general than particular; and the characters of Jaques, Touchstone, and Audrey, are entirely new in Shakespeare. The names of the other personages engaged in the drama have also been changed, with the exception of those of the heroine, Phoebe, Adam, and Charles the Wrestler.”¹ At the close of his “*Rosalynde*” the author says, “If you gather any frutes by this Legacie, speake well of Euphues for writing it, and me for fetching it. If you grace me with that favour, you encorage me to be more forward; and as soone as I have overlookt my labours, expect *THE SAILERS KALENDER*.” This work probably had some relation to his sea adventures, but it seems never to have been printed. The dedication of his “*Rosalynde*” is as follows:—

“To the Right Honourable and his most esteemed Lord, the Lord of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine of her Majesties houshold, and Governor of her Towne of Barwicke: T. L. G. wisheth increase of all honourable vertues.

“Such Romanes (right Honourable) as delighted in martiall exploytes, attempted their actions in the honour of Augustus, because he was a Patron of souldiers: and Virgil dignified him with his poems, as a Moecenas of schollers; both joyntly advauncing his royaltie, as a Prince warlike and learned. Such as sacrifice to Pallas, present her with bayes as she is

¹ Shakespeare's Library, vol. i. London, 1843, 2 vols., 8vo.

wise, and with armour as she is valiant; observing herein that excellent *το προπον* which dedicateth honours according to the perfection of the person. When I entred (right Honourable) with a deep insight into the consideration of these premisses, seeing your L. to be a Patron of all martiall men, and a Mœcenas of such as applie themselves to studie; wearing with Pallas both the launce and the bay, and ayming with Augustus at the favour of all, by the honourable vertues of your minde: being my selfe first a Student, and after falling from bookes to armes, even vowed in all my thoughts dutifully to affect your L. Having with Capt. Clarke made a voyage to the Islands of Terceras and the Canaries, to beguile the time with labour, I writ this booke; rough, as hatcht in the stormes of the Ocean, and feathered in the surges of many perillous seas. But as it is the worke of a souldier and a scholler, I presumed to shrowde it under your Honors patronage, as one that is the fautor and favourer of all vertuous actions; and whose honorable Loves grown from the generall applause of the whole Common wealth for your higher deserts, may keep it from the mallice of every bitter tung. Other reasons more particular (right Honorable) chalenge in me a speciall affection to your L., as being a scholler with your two noble sonnes, Master Edmond Carew and M. Robert Carew, (two siens worthie of so honorable a tree, and a tree glorious in such honourable fruite) as also being a scholler in the Universitie under that learned and vertuous Knight, Sir Edward Hobbie, when he was Batcheler in Arts, a man as well lettered as well borne, and, after the Etymologie of his name, soaring as high as the wings of knowledge can mount him, happie every way, and the more fortunate, as blessed in the honour of so vertuous a Ladie. Thus (right honourable) the duetie that I owe to the sonnes chargeth me that all my affection be placed on the father; for where the braunches are so precious, the tree of force must be most excellent. Commaunded and emboldened thus with the consideration of these forepassed reasons, to present my Booke to your Lordship; I humbly intreate your Honour will vouch of my labours, and favour a souldiers and a schollers pen with your gracious acceptance; who answers in affection what he wants in eloquence; so devoted to your Honour, as his onely desire is, to end his life under the favour of so martiall and learned a Patron.

“Resting thus in hope of your Lordships courtesie, in deyning the Patronage of my worke, I cease: wishing you as many honourable fortunes as your Lordship can desire, or I imagine.

“Your Honours souldier humbly affectionate,

“*Thomas Lodge.*”

Lodge's Tragedy, "The Wounds of the Civil War," may be assigned to this period, although first published in 1594. In point of date, his next performance was a kind of historical romance—"The History of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robin the Divell." In addressing "the Courteous Reader whatsoever," he says: "Gentlemen, I have, upon the earnest request of some my good friends, drawne out of the old and ancient antiquaries the true life of Robert second Duke of Normandie, (surnamed, for his youthfull imperfections, Robin the Divell) wherein I stand not so much on the termes as the trueth, publishing as much as I have read, and not so much as they have written." He dedicates it thus:—

"To the worshipfull and true Moecenas of learning, M. Thomas Smith, T. L. G. wisheth all aboundance of worldly fortunes in this life, and the benefites of heavenlie felicitie in the life to come.

"Seeing in these our days men rather seeke the increase of transitorie wealth than the knowledge of devine wisdome, preferring stuffed baggs before studious bookes, their pounds before precepts, loosing the true ritches of the minde, to levell at the transitorie allurements of this world, feeding fooles with figgs, and philosophers with floutes; I have, among the multitudes of these men, made choice of your Worship for my Patron and Moecenas, who, of a farre more happy nature with Theodosius, honour Appian, and seeing learning almost suppressed with contempt, or discountenanced with neglect, have in this famous Citie (like a vertuous member of the same) begun to exile ignorance, to revive artes: knowing Ladislaus reasons to be of force, that Citizens who are unlettered are lesse than men, or rather (as Frederick the Emperour was wont to say) man like beastes. Which vertuous indeavour of yours (worthie both your name and fortune) shall in time to come more advance you, than they who in tooth and nayle labour to purchase lands, which ordinarily perish through their heires lavishnes. It is true fame which is gotten by vertue, and perfect vertue to maintaine learning; which is so kinde to

those that seeke after it, that in all changes of fortune, in all miseries of this life, and casualties whatsoever, it prepareth the mind and preventeth mishaps. And least I among the poore Tirones of learning, who desire the increase thereof with the most, though deserve therein with the least, should seeme to forget this especially and ingrafted vertue so admirably bestowed upon your Worship, I have thought good to present you with a rude and lonely written history, which if with like regard you shall accept, as Alphonsus did the silly Satires of Philelphus, I doubt not but in short time to publish that under your name, which shall not only merit and deserve your acceptance, but also mightely profit all such as are studious in all sorts of learning. Till when, I most humbly commend me, desiring your Worship most earnestly to prosecute your vertuous enterprises, beseeching God to prosper you in them and all other, to the advancement of Letters. From my Chamber, 2 Maij., 1591.

“Your Worships to command,

“T. L. G.”

Another work, published by Lodge in 1591, has this quaint title, “Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularity, christened by him, A Nettle for Nice Noses.” It was printed for John Busbie, by whom it was inscribed “to the right worshippfull Syr John Hart, Knight.” He says, “I present your Worship, in signe of my sincere affect, with this small conceit, pen’d by a Gentleman my deare friend.” This suggests the probability of its having appeared towards the close of the year, when the author had set out on a voyage of adventure.

During Lodge’s absence, his “Euphues Shadow, the Battaile of the Senses,” was published by his friend, Robert Greene. In his dedication to Viscount Fitzwalters he says—“It fortuneth that one M. Thomas Lodge, *who now is gone to sea with Mayster Candish*, had bestowed some serious labour in penning of a booke called Euphues Shadowe: and by his last let-

ters gave straight charge, that I should not only have the care for his sake of the impression thereof, but also *in his absence* to bestowe it on some man of Honor, whose worthie vertues might bee a patronage to his worke.”¹ Greene himself, in 1587, had published “*Euphues his censure to Philautus*,” which no doubt suggested the title of two of Lodge’s tracts; but both writers were preceded by John Lilly, “the Euphuist.” Greene also prefixed to Lodge’s tract the following address:—

“To the Gentlemen Readers, Health.

“Gentlemen, after many of mine owne labours that you have courteouslie accepted, I present you with *Euphues shadowe*, in the behalfe of my absent friend, M. Thomas Lodge, who at his departure to sea upon a long voyage, was willing, as a generall farewell to all courteous Gentlemen, to leave this his worke to the view, which if you grace with your favours eyther as his affected meaning, or the worthe of the worke requires, not onely I for him shall rest yours, but what laboures his Sea studies affords, shall be, I dare promise, offered to your sight, to gratifie your courtesies, and his pen, as himselfe, every waye yours for ever. Farewell.

“Yours to command, *Robert Greene*.”

As Candish’s last voyage proved most calamitous, a short notice of both expeditions may be added, although Lodge’s share in the latter has not been defined. In Hakluyt’s collection² we find a journal of “the admirable and prosperous Voyage of the worshippfull Master Thomas Candish, of Trimley,

¹ Mr. Dyce has inserted this dedication in his excellent collected edition of Greene’s Dramatic and Poeticals Works, vol i., p. i. A specimen of the tract itself was communicated by Haslewood to the British Bibliographer, vol. i., p. 558-560.

² “Written by Master Francis Petty, lately of Ey, in Suffolk, a gentleman employed in the same action.”—Vol. iii., p. 803: Edit. 1599.

in the Countie of Suffolke, Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole Earth." He sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586, and returned to the same port on the 9th of September, 1588, when he addressed a letter to Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, humbly desiring his honour to make known to her Majesty the successful issue of this voyage, having "either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the World that ever were known or discovered by any Christian." Of the islands of the Philippines, in particular, he says—"the statelinesse and riches I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited." Purchase says: "I have heard that all his sailes, at his returne in the river [Thames], were silke."

Heywood, in his "Great Britaines Troy," 1609, gives a summary of memorable English events, among which he includes this voyage with "his two ships the Desire and Content."

"——— Noble Candish, furnisht well,
In two good ships, well man'd and builded late,
Compass the World."—(Page 465.)

In reference to this voyage of Candish, or Caven-dish, Southey says—"This adventurer having wasted his paternal inheritance, thought to repair a ruined fortune by privateering; and during a former voyage, in which he sailed round the world, the ravages which he committed were such as long left a stain upon the character of the English nation."¹ The

¹ Southey's History of Brazil, vol. i., p. 359.

success was however sufficient to induce another expedition to be undertaken upon a greater scale; its chief destination was for the South Sea, the Philippines, and the coast of China. It consisted of "three tall ships and two barks," and sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August, 1591. The vessels reached the coast of Brazil on the 15th of December: Candish ordered two of his squadron to attack the town of Santos; the people were surprised at mass, but by negligence they were allowed to escape, carrying with them their stores of provisions; and the want of fresh supplies for storing their vessels was the commencement of a series of disasters. They remained at Santos till the 22nd of January; but, "through extreme want of victuals not being able any longer to live there," they shaped their course towards the Straits of Magellan. A spirit of dissension and mutiny sprung up; and, being assailed by furious storms, some of the vessels were separated, the men enduring great extremities from "cursed famine and miserable cold." Candish having left his own vessel, the galeon *Leycester*, in which he sailed as Admiral, he came aboard the *Desire*, and "told our captain, Mr. John Davis, of all his extremities, and spake most hardly of his company, *and of divers gentlemen that were with him*, proposing no more to goe aboard his own ship, but to stay in the *Desire*. We all sorrowed to heare such hard speeches of our good friends; *but having spoken with the Gentlemen of the Galeon, wee found them faithful, honest, and resolute in proceeding*, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceive of them."

The narrative from which these words are taken is preserved by Hakluyt,¹ who styles the writer, Mr. John Jane, "a man of good observation." It is undoubtedly a partial statement, favourable to Davis and his men; but it sufficiently explains Lodge's own words, in 1596, where he says: "being at sea with M. Candish (*whose memorie, if I repent not, I lament not*)."² The latter part of Jane's narrative refers exclusively to the ship *Desire*, after its separation from the *Galeon*, (to which Candish had been persuaded to return) and of their extreme sufferings from famine and disease, until they reached the coast of Ireland, on the 11th of June, 1593, with their number reduced to sixteen persons, of whom only five were able to move. On his return homewards, Candish appears to have died of a broken heart, rather than any defined disease. A short time before his death he addressed a long letter to his executor, Sir Tristram Gorges, so filled with "passionate speeches," containing accusations of treachery, cowardice, and neglect of orders, against Davis and the captain of the *Roebuck*, ("the most cowardly villain ever born of a woman") and nearly all concerned, that Purchase, when he gave it to the world, upwards of thirty years later, says he had to omit some passages. From these two accounts, confirmed by that of Anthony Knyvet, also contained in Purchase's collection, it appears that Candish had lost the confidence of all the persons under his command, by mismanagement, indecision, and cruelty. But it is not neces-

¹ Vol. iii., p. 842.

² See page xlii.

sary to give any further details of what Purchase not inaptly calls "that dismall and fatall voyage of Master Thomas Candish, in which he consummated his earthly peregrinations."¹

Knyvet says, for two months they remained at Santos, and that Master Cocke, captain of the Roebuck, who "went Captain of all the company that went ashore, favoured me very much, and commanded me to take a Friars cell to lodge in, *in the Colledge of Jesus, where he himself lodged with many Captaines and young Gentlemen.*" Here it was, as Lodge has informed us, "it was his chance, in the Library of the Jesuits, in Sanctum, to find a historie in the Spanish tongue," of which he professes to give a translation in his "*Margarite of America,*" printed in 1596; a work written in a ship, in the midst of "souldiers of good reckning," but with greater "will to get a dinner," than "to win fame;" and in such tempestuous weather, that it seemed more probable "the fish should eate me writing, and my paper written, then Fame should know me, Hope should acquaint her with me, or anie but Miserie should heare mine ending."

Upon Lodge's return to England, probably at the close of 1592, or the commencement of the following year, he resumed his literary occupations. During his absence, his friend, Robert Greene, was cut off, it is said, "after a surfeit of pickled herring and Rhenish

¹ Since the above was written, I find a very full account of Candish's two expeditions in Dr. Kippis's edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, (*art. Cavendish*) vol. iii., p. 316.

wine." He died on the 3rd of September, 1592, when probably not above thirty-three years of age. They had jointly written a play, "A Looking Glasse for London and England," which was brought on the stage, and performed by Lord Strange's servants, on the 8th and 27th of March, 1591-2, and again, on the 19th of April and 7th of June, 1592.¹ Greene, who was a prolific writer, both in prose and verse, closed his irregular career in a repentant spirit; and soon after his death there appeared a posthumous tract, entitled "A Groatsworth of Wit bought with a million of Repentance." This well known tract concludes with an earnest address "To those Gentlemen his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Playes, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdom to prevent his extremities." He first addresses himself to Marlowe, then to Lodge, under the name of young Juvenal, and with them joins George Peele, as his three chief companions. The melancholy fate of Marlowe, in June, 1593, is well known; and the death of Peele, a few years later, is also attributed to his depraved course of life. After his exhortation to Marlowe, "thou famous gracer of Tragedians," Greene proceeds:—

"With thee I joyne young Juvenal, [Thomas Lodge] that biting Satyrist, that lastly with mee together writ a Comedie. Sweet Boy, might I advise thee, be advised, and get not many enemies by bitter words. Inveighe against vaine men, for thou canst doe it, no man better; no man so well: thou hast a liberty to reprove all, and to name none: for one being spoken to, all are offended; none being blamed, no man is injured

¹ Henslowe's Diary, edited by J. P. Collier, Esq., for the Shakespeare Society, pp. 23, 25, 28. London, 1845, 8vo.

Stop shallow water still running, it will rage; tread on a worrne, and it will turne; then blame not Schollers who are vexed with sharpe and bitter lines, if they reprove thy too much liberty of reproofe."

In 1593, Lodge published his "Phillis, honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights." It would appear that the author originally intended to have placed it under the patronage of "a great Mecænas," whom he styled, in his Induction, "the Ascrean Poet of our time;" but the dedication, from some cause, was cancelled, and the following substituted, to a "shee Mecænas," as "the true Octavia of our time."¹

"To the Right worthy and noble Lady, the Countesse of Shrewsbury.

"I have adventured, most noble Lady, with the wrastlers of Olympia, tho not to win, yet to worke for the Garland; the judgement of my industry relyeth on your Ladishippe, who have both authoritie to convict, and knowledge to commend. I have chosen you, Madam, among many, to be the Sovereigne and shee Mecænas of my toyle, because I am assured that the great report of your learning and vertue (wherewith as yet it hath not pleased you to dignifie the world) must even now be exemplified in mee, who dare promise as much in affection, as any other can performe in perfection. May it please you to looke and like of homlie Phillis in her Country caroling, and to countenance her poore and affectionate Sheepheard, who promiseth under the onely encouragement of so noble a Lady, to employ all his best deseignes, life, and studies, to your good lyking.

"Your Ladiships most humble to commaund,

"*Tho: Lodge.*"

It will be observed that Lodge in all his dedications was much more liberal in promises to his several patrons, than he ever intended, or at least succeeded in performing.

¹ See Catalogue of Lodge's works, page lxvi.

In the same year, he published "The Life and Death of William Longbeard, accompanied with many other most pleasant and prettie Histories." This tract in all probability furnished Drayton with the subject of a play, called William Longsword, or Longbeard, for which he received two payments from Henslowe in 1598-9.¹

"To the Right worshipfull Sir William Web, Knight, Tho. Lodge wisheth increase of Worship in this life, and eternall blessing in the life to come.

"The general care which you have had in the fatherlie governement of the Cittie, and the worthy forwardnesse in establishing al vertuous counceils for common good, have made me presumptuous beyond my custome in the behalfe of my contreyemen to present your Worship with this short model of Histories, wherein you maye both find matter worthy the reading and circumstances of deepe consideration. I make you patron of these rare things, who are the very pattern and true *Mecenas* of vertue, seeking by your wisdome to establish the estate of poore Cittizens sonnes decaied, and renew that by your care, which they have loste through unadvisednesse. Accept, I beseech you, my poore talent, or my widdowes mite, with as great devotion as the hart can imagine or opinion conceit, and command me who during life am your Worships most bounden.

"*Tho. Lodge.*"

In 1594 appeared the only two dramatic works with which Lodge's name is connected; namely, "A Looking Glasse for London and England," and "The Wounds of the Civil War;" both of which are already alluded to as compositions of an earlier date than that of publication.

In 1595, he published "A Fig for Momus; containing pleasant varietie, included in Satyres, Eclogues,

¹ See Mr. Collier's notes, in Henslowe's Diary, pp. 95, 142.

and Epistles.” The author, in an address “To the Gentlemen Readers whatsoever,” says—

“Gentlemen, I know you wonder, that having so long time kept silence, I salute the world with so peremptorie a title. But if thou consider the reasons before you enter into mislike, you shall be satisfied, and I excused. I entitle my book *A fig for Momus*, not in contempt of the learned, for I honor them; not in disdaine of the wel-minded, because they cherish science; but in despite of the detractor, who having no learning to judge, wanteth no libertie to reprove Under this title I have thought good to include Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles: first, by reason that I studie to delight with varietie; next, because I could write in that forme, *wherein no man might chalenge me with servile imitation* (wherewith heretofore I have been unjustlie taxed). My Satyres (to speake truth) are by pleasures rather placed here to prepare and trie the eare, than to feede it: because if they passe well, the whole Centon of them, alreadie in my hands, shall sodainly be published.

“In them, (under the names of certaine Romaines) where I reprehend vice, I purposely wrong no man, but observe the lawes of that kind of poeme. If any repine thereat, I am sure he is guiltie, because he bewrayeth himself. For my *Eclogues*, I commend them to men of approved judgement, whose margents though I fill not with quotations, yet their matter and handling will show my diligence. For my *Epistles*, they are in that kind, wherein no Englishmen of our time hath publicly written; which if they please, may draw on more, if displease, have their privilege by authoritie.”

This address is preceded by the following dedication:—

“To the Right Honorable and thrice renowned Lord, William Earle of Darbie, T. L., his most humble and devoted servant, wisheth all health and happiness.

“My honoured good Lord, having resolved with my selfe to publish certaine my Poems, and knowing them subject to much prejudice, except they were graced with some noble and worthie patron, I have followed the example of Metabo, king of the Volschi, who, desirous to deliver his onelie daughter from all perill and danger, consecrated and dedicated her to the sister of the Sunne. So I, no lesse carefull of my labors then the king of his Camilla, with deliberate and advised judgement, wholly

devote and offer up my poems to your favour and protection: who being the true Mæcenæ of the Muses, and judicall in their exercises, are of power to relieve my weaknes by your worthines, and to priviledge me from envie, though she were prest to devoure me. If, midst your generall favour to all desert, your honour vouchsafe this particular benefite to my industrie, no day, or time, (as Tully counsaileth) shall define the memorie of your benefits, but as your noble Father, in mine infancie, with his own hands incorporated me into your house, so in this my retired age and studie, my labour, lines, and whole life, shall be employed to doe you honour and service.

Your Lordships most bounden in all humilitie,

“ Thomas Lodge.”

In 1596, Lodge published at least three distinct tracts in prose, under affected titles. The first is “The Divel Conjured.” It is in the form of a conference betwixt the virtuous and solitary hermit, Anthony, and three worldly men, Metrodorus the Tyrian, Astarius of Cappadocia, and Frumentarius the Indian. The author seems to have entertained no light opinion of its merits: “Sith” (he says to the Reader) “you have long time drawen the weeds of my wit, and fed yourselves with the cockle of my conceits, I have at last made you gleaners of my harvest, and partakers of my experience;” with much more to the same effect. It has this dedication:—

“To the Right Honorable and learned Sir John Fortescue, knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wardrobe, and one of hir Majesties right Honorable Privie Counsell.

“Right Honourable, allured by your Wisdome, and animated by your authority, the one expressed by your generall and matchlesse knowledge in the purer tounge, and the perfit use and felicitie of your readings; the other in your execution in affairs; policie in counsaile; place in judgment; and credit with her most Roiall Majestie: I have (more audacious then wise) presumed to submit this weak labor of mine to your judgement to determine on, and authoritie to countenance: for what

your judgement shall winke at, the world will applaud, and what your authority shall countenance, ignorant detraction dare not misconster; so then, shadowed under the strong shield of your favour, I neither suspect my cause, nor feare mine enemies, wax afraid of the curious, or abashed at the envious. Accept, therefore, most noble Lord, this poore wreck of my wit, that hath no hope of eternitie but by your grace, nor defence from misreports but your name; neither any more felicitie then your allowance, and think of the writer as of him that giveth what his rich will can for those favours which his weake power may never requite. Thus wishing your Honour that place in heaven which your charitie and pietie to all the learned justly deserveth on earth, I humbly take my leave, this fifteenth of April, 1596.

“Your Honors most bounden Orator,

“T. L.”

The second tract, “A Margarite of America,” has already been noticed, as it professes to be a translation from a Spanish work which Lodge discovered in the Jesuits’ library at Santos, in Brazil, in 1592. Both the dedication and the address contain biographical information, and may here be quoted.

“To the noble, learned, and vertuous Ladie, the Ladie Russell, T. L wisheth affluence on earth, and felicitie in heaven.

“Madam, your deep and considerate judgement, your admired honor, and happy readings, have drawne me to present this labor of mine to your gracious hands and favourable patronage: wherein, though you shall find nothing to admire, yet doubt I not but you may meet many things that deserve cherishing. Touching the subject, though of it selfe it seeme historicall, yet if it please you, like our English Sappho, to look into that which I have slenderly written, I doubt not but that your memory shal acquaint you with my diligence, and my diligence may deserve your applause. Touching the place where I wrote this, it was in those Straits christned by Magelan; in which place to the southward many wondrous Isles, many strange fishes, many monstrous Patagoñes, withdrew my senses: briefly, many bitter and extreme frosts at Midsummer continually clothe and clad the discomfortable mountaines; so that there was great wonder in the place wherein I writ this, so likewise

might it be marvelled, that in such scantie fare, such causes of feare, so mightie discouragements, and many crosses, I should deserve to eternize any thing. Yet what I have done (good Madame) judge and hope this felicitie from my pen, that whilst the memorie thereof shal live in any age, your charitie, learning, nobilitie, and vertues, shall be eternized. Oppian, writing to Theodosius, was as famous by the person to whome hee consecrated his study, as fortunate in his labours, which as yet are not mastred by oblivion; so hope I (Madame) on the wing of your sacred name to be borne to the temple of Eternitie, where though envie barke at me, the Muses shall cherish, love, and happie me. Thus hoping your Ladiship will supply my boldnesse with your bountie and affabilitie, I humbly kisse your most delicate handes, shutting up my English duety under an Italian copie of humanitie and curtesie. From my house, this 4 of Maie, 1596.

“Your Honors in all zeale,
“*T. Lodge.*”

“To the Gentlemen Readers.

“Gentlemen, I am prevented in mine own hopes, in seconding thrifts forward desires. Som foure yeres since, being at sea with M. Candish, (whose memorie if I repent not, I lament not) it was my chance in the librarie of the Jesuits in Sanctum to find this historie in the Spanish tong, which as I read delighted me, and delighting me, wonne me, and winning me, made me write. The place where I began my worke, was a ship, where many souldiers of good reckning finding disturbed stomackes, it can not but stand with your discretions to pardon an undiscreeete and unstaied penne, for hands may vary where stomacks miscary. The time I wrote in was when I had rather will to get my dinner, then to win my fame. The order I wrote in was past order, where I rather observed mens hands lest they should strike me, then curious reason of men to condemne mee. In a worde, I wrote under hope rather the fish should eate me writing, and my paper written, then fame should know me, hope should acquaint her with me, or anie but miserie should heare mine ending. For those faults (Gentlemen) escaped by the Printer, in not being acquainted with my hand, and the booke printed in my absence, I must crave you with favour to judge of, and with your wonted curtesies to correct; and according to Ecclesiasticall law, give us on our own confession absolution: if you will not, remember this, that a countrie lasse for Ladies, may tell them they curle too much; and for Gentlemen, that they are unfashioned by their fashions. To be short, who lives in this

world, let him wincke in the world; for either men proove too blinde in seeing too litle, or too presumptuous in condemning that they shoulde not.

“Yours, *T. Lodge.*”

The third tract, also in prose, with translations into verse of numerous short quotations from the Latin poets, is more of a satirical cast. The title, “Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse: discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age.” The dedication is as follows:—

“To the right worshipfull brothers, Nicholas Hare of Stow Bardolfe Esquire and Recorder of Lyn, Hugh Hare Esquire Bencher of the Inward Temple, and John Hare Esquire Clarke of her Majesties Court of Wards, Tho. Lodge, Gentleman, wisheth health, wealth, and heaven.

“Right Worshipfull, understanding how like Scilirus the Scythians fagot you are all so tied together with the brotherly bond of amitie, that no disunion or dissention can depart you; in memorie of your rare and united loves, (the like whereof this barren age scarcely affordeth any) and in regard you are three ornaments in this Honourable Citie, whereof I esteeme my self a member: to consecrate your vertues with my fame, I have boldlie made you the patrons of this my worke, which both becommeth your gravities to read, and your devotions to thinke upon. Accept (I most humblie intreat you) the deserving kindnesse from a gentleman, whose labours and curtesies being well construed, shall embolden him hereafter to adventure on farre greater. Till when, I most humblie commend me. Written in hast, from my house at Low-Laiton, this 5 of November, 1596.

“Your Worships in all kindnesse,

“T. L.”

Low Layton, from whence this dedication is dated, is in the hundred of Becontree, in Essex, about six miles to the north-east of London. The messuage or farm of Malmaynes, in the same hundred,¹ was originally given by Lady Lodge in her will to her son

¹ Inquisit. 26 Eliz., June 25, ap. Morant's Essex, vol. i., p. 4.

Thomas, but the gift is set aside in a codicil, and certain lands on the borders of Suffolk and Essex, at or near Nayland, bequeathed to him instead. Sir Thomas Lodge's country house, as may be gathered from his wife's will, was in the parish of West Ham, in Essex, near Low Layton.¹

In the last mentioned tract, there is a remarkable passage containing references to some of his contemporary poets. It occurs, strangely enough, in the chapter called "Of the great Devill Belzebub, and what monstrous and strange Devils he hath bred in our age."

"One of these Devils named *Hate-Vertue*: you shall know him by this, he is a foule lubber, his tongue tipt with lying, his heart steeld against charity, he walks for the most part in black, under colour of gravity, and looks as pale as the Visard of the Ghost which cried so miserably at the Theater, like an Oister wife, HAMLET, REVENGE:..... His custom is to preferre a foole to credite, to despight a wise man, and no Poet lives by him that hath not a flout of him. Let him spie a man of wit in a Taverne, he is an arrant drunckard; or but heare that he parted a fray, he is a hairebrained quarreller: let a Scholler write, Tush, (saith he) I like not these common fellowes: let him write well, he hath stollen it out of some note book: let him translate, Tut, it is not his owne: let him be named for preferment, he is insufficient, because poore: no man shall rise in his world, except to feed his envy; no man can continue in his friendship, who hateth all men. Divine wits, for many things as sufficient as all antiquity, (I speake it not on slight surmise, but considerate judgement) to you belongs the death that doth nourish this poison: to you the paine, that endure the reproofe. *Lilly*, the famous for facility in discourse: *Spencer*, best read in ancient Poetry: *Daniel*, choise in word and invention: *Draiton*, diligent and formall: *Th. Nash*, true English Aretine. All you unnamed professors, or friends of Poetry, (but by me inwardly honoured) knit your industries in private, to unite your fames in publicke: let the strong stay up the weake, and the weake march under conduct of the strong; and all so imbattell your

¹ The registers of the parish of West Ham, applicable to the poet's period, are not preserved.—See "Lyson's Environs," *art.* West Ham.

selves, that hate of vertue may not imbase you. But if besotted with foolish vain-glory, emulation, and contempt, you fall to neglect one another, *Quod Deus omen avertat*. Doubtless it will be as infamous a thing shortly, to present any book whatsoever learned to any Mæcenas in England, as it is to be headsman in any free citie in Germanie:

“Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt.”

“The meane hath discoursed, let the mighty prevent the michiefe. But to our Devill, by his leave, we cannot yet shake him off:” &c.

Besides these tracts of 1596, Mr. Collier has assigned to Lodge another printed in the same year, considering it to be a Palinode, or recantation by the author of his previous writings, as “the foule fore-passed progenie of my thoughts, in the night of mine error,” and to have been suggested by, and written in imitation of Nash’s “Christ’s Teares over Jerusalem.” It bears this title: “Prosopopeia, containing the Teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God;” and is dedicated “To the Right noble, the Mother Countesse, Countesse of Darby, and the vertuous and devout Countesse of Cumberland.” I have not included it in the list of Lodge’s works, being persuaded that it ought to be ascribed to some other author. Except in the dedication, there is no resemblance to Lodge’s style; and, if he could have written these words—“Now at last, after I have wounded the world with too much surfeit of vanitie, I maye bee by the true Helizeus, cleansed from the leprosie of my lewd lines, and beeing washed in the Jordan of grace, imploy my labour to the comfort of the faithfull”—it would at least have shown little of a repentant spirit, to have produced within a few months his “Discovery of the Devils Incarnate of this Age.”

But besides this, if the copy described by Mr. Collier¹ has the initials "T. L.," others, both to the Dedication and the Address to the Reader, have (and possibly more correctly) "L. T."² If one conjecture, therefore, may be allowed to take the place of another, it may be suggested, that this tract should rather be attributed to Laurence Twyne, gentleman, one of a literary family, who, in 1576, "gathered into English" "The Patterne of painefull Adventures," or the History of Apollonius, Prince of Tyre, from which Shakespeare derived many of the incidents in his "Pericles."³ Anthony Wood says, of John Twyne, who died in 1581, that his eldest son "was Lawrence Twyne, who was fellow of All Souls College, and Bachelor of the Civil Law, an ingenious poet of his time, as several copies of verses set before books, written in commendation of their respective authors, do sufficiently attest. He was a married man, lived at Hardacre, in Kent, and left issue behind him, at his death, several children."⁴

At this period, a change seems to have taken place in the course of Lodge's life. His name is no longer connected with works of a poetical or miscellaneous literature; and he ceased to designate himself of Lincoln's Inn. Some of his difficulties and distresses

¹ "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," vol. ii., p. 156. From Mr. Collier's list of Lodge's works, in "The Gentleman's Magazine," it appears that the copy he described is preserved in the Lambeth Library.

² Herbert's Ames, vol. ii., p. 1200.—One of these copies is among the Hawthornden books in the College University, Edinburgh.

³ Reprinted by Mr. Collier in the first volume of "Shakespeare's Library."

⁴ Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i., p. 464. Bliss's edit.

have reached us through Henslowe's papers at Dulwich, and the industry of Mr. Collier.¹ It appears that about the year 1588 he had contracted a debt to a tailor in the Strand, named Richard Topping, and that Henslowe (not to lose Lodge's services by his imprisonment in the Clink, for non-payment thereof) had become bail for his appearance "for meer good will, being somewhat acquainted with him." Lodge, however, as is asserted, went beyond seas, leaving Henslowe liable for the debt. Topping accordingly sent in his claim to Henslowe, who declined paying, and pleaded his privilege from arrest as one of the grooms of the Queen's (Elizabeth's) chamber. This was in, or before, 1596, and the amount was "seven pounds, odd money, due for this eight years."

The defrauded tailor petitioned Lord Hunsdon (the Lord Chamberlain) to interfere, who called on Henslowe to give his answer to Topping's accusation. Henslowe replied that he was clear by law from the payment of the debt, as Lodge had removed the action by habeas corpus to the King's Bench, and there (by the acceptance of the Judges) put in a new trial; that he was unwilling to pay another man's debt; and that it was malice against him that suggested the complaint to the Lord Chamberlain, for Topping knew "where Lodge, the principal, is, and how he may easily come by him."

Other petitions on the part of Topping and Henslowe are preserved, but the issue of the affair is unknown. Topping complains that Henslowe protested

¹ Collier's "Memoirs of Allen," pp. 39-46.

he would spend one hundred pounds rather than pay the debt. The truth seems likely that Lodge was skulking in this country—that Topping knew where to find him, but preferred proceeding against Henslowe than against a man of straw like Lodge.

He finally devoted himself to the medical profession; and in prosecuting his studies, there can be no doubt he went abroad, to benefit by the instructions of some of the eminent physicians and anatomists who then flourished in France and Italy. According to Anthony Wood, he took his degree of Doctor of Physic at Avignon. This must have been previously to the year 1600. In the well-known poetical common-place book, entitled “England’s Parnassus, or the Choycest Flowers of our Moderne Poets,” printed in that year, there are numerous passages, under the common heads, Ambition, Content, Court, Custome, Death, Folly, Fortune, Friends, &c., with his name affixed; and these, were it worth the pains, might probably all be traced as extracts from his printed works. The first extract, Ambition, consists of these two lines:—

“Who fight for crownes, set life, set all to[o] light:

Who aim so high, wil die or hit the white.

“*Doctor Lodge.*”

In those that follow, the signature is usually in the more abridged form, “D. Lodge:” thus—

“As when a troupe of harvest thrifty swaines,
With cutting sythes Earth’s ripened riches mowes,
Whole sheaves of corne lye strowen upon the plaines,
So fall the Scots before the conquering foes.

“*D. Lodge.*”

Both these extracts occur in "The Complaint of Elstred," which is annexed to his "Phillis honoured with Pastorall Sonnets," &c., in 1593. This circumstance of so naming him is of importance, not only for ascertaining the date of his medical degree, but also for removing any doubts that might be entertained in our identifying Doctor Lodge with the "Souldier poet and Romance writer."¹ In the earlier publication, "The Phoenix Nest, by R. S., of the Inner Temple," London, 1592, among the "Excellent Ditties of divers kinds and rare invention, written by sundry Gentlemen," there are sixteen poems with Lodge's initials, "T. L., Gent," which were probably contributed to this poetical miscellany by the author, although some of them, at least, occur in Lodge's previous publications.

Upon Lodge's return from the Continent, he settled in London, and continued to practise as a physician with greater reputation than success. On the 25th of October, 1602, "Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Physic of the University of Avenion," was incorporated in the University of Oxford.² During the same year, he published his translation of the Works of Josephus, from the Latin and French versions. This volume was partially superseded by L'Estrange's later version, and wholly by Whiston's translation; but it is singular that no copy of Lodge's translation is to be found in the Bodleian, British Museum, or in any of the chief public libraries either in England or Scotland,

¹ See also on this subject, Collier's *Life of Alleyn*, p. 39.

² Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, by Bliss, vol. i., p. 298.

although it actually passed through seven editions between 1602 and 1670, and can only be considered of small pecuniary value. The dedication to Lord Howard of Effingham is as follows:²—

“To the Right Honourable Father of Arts and Arms, Charles Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham, High Constable of the Castle and Forrest of Windsor, Lord Chief Justice in Eyre in England, Governour and Captain Generall of all her Majesties Forts and Castles, High Admirall of England and Ireland, Lieutenant of Sussex and Surrey, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of her Majesties most Honourable privy Councill.

“Right Honourable, there is a saying in *Zenophon* most worthy the citing and insight, that matters of worth and consequence are both to be committed and commended to their trust and protection who know the weight and value thereof, and both can and will defend the same by authority and Reason. For this cause and upon this ground I have chosen your honour out for a most noble Patron of this most famous and accomplished History of the Jews: which for dignity and antiquity of the subject, the elegancie and purity of the style, the choice propriety of copious words, the gravity and variety of sentences, the alterations and memorable events, and lastly, for the birth and dignity of the Author, requireth a spirit of no less wisdom, courage, and nobility, than your self, who have power to defend and knowledge to discern the worth thereof. Vouchsafe therefore to level the eye of your esteem upon the Center of this happy history: and as Themistocles was animated to noble actions by beholding Miltiades trophies, and Alexander, in seeing Achilles tombe, did grievously sigh with an honourable emulation, so let the zeal, magnanimity, and admirable constancy which every where affronteth you in this Book (and ravisheth the best minds from the boundless troubles of this world, and draweth them into the contemplation of true perfection) so settle your honourable love and affection to emulate the same, that as for glory in Arms, so for preserving and protecting Arts, you may outstrip your competitors and amaze too curious

¹ The original edition not being at present accessible, nor, indeed, a copy of any other, I have been indebted to the kindness of Thomas Jones, Esq., for a transcript of this dedication from the latest edition, 1670, preserved in Chetham's Library, Manchester.

expectation. And in mine opinion the time challengeth no less at your hands; for as your transcendent dignity and courage hath returned us an happy harvest in our expected and long possessed peace, as by your second care and diligence next under Sacred Majesty we all reap the fruit and felicity of blessed abundance; so by your example in reading and respecting both learning and the learned, you shall pull down that *Babel* which confused ignorance hath raised to overreach industry; yea, you shall strengthen the weakned ability of learning, which (alas the while) is now-adayes like a commodity without request, scarce saleable by the hands of a cunning Broker. Nothing is more worth money and less in request; onely the world's blind creatures, (as S. *Hierom* termeth them) the unlettered, take delight in their errors, whose writings (as *Plutarch* speaketh of *Aristophanes* Poem) are written for no moderate man's pleasure. Let therefore your upright estimation of this work (most noble Earl) awaken the dead devotion of such as contemn Arts; and let no such corrupt drones (as made sale of sinfull thoughts for good merchandise) buz about the hive of true science: but as Emperours, Kings, and Princes, have ever in their Greek, Italian, and French, with a respective acceptance and bountifull hand, entertained this history; so let this translation of Josephus, which courteth you now in English, be accepted at your hands, and countenanced by your Honour: for whose unconfined felicity both I and other of my name have ever prayed, and will never cease to study.

“Your Honours unfainedly devoted,

“THOMAS LODGE.”

In the year 1603, when the plague was raging in London, Dr. Lodge published a Treatise of the Plague, dedicated to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, stating that he was “bred and brought up in the city.”

“To the Right Honorable the Lord Maior, and to the Right Worshipfull the Aldermen and Sheriffes of the Citie of London.

“Two causes (Right Honourable and Worshipfull) have moved me to publish this present treatise of the Plague: one is the duetie and love which I owe to this Citie, (wherein I was bred and brought up) and for which (as the Orator Cicero in his Offices, and the Philosopher Plato in his Common-weale do testifie) every good man ought to employ his uttermost

indeavour. The next is a charitable remorse I have conceived to see my poore country-men and afflicted brethren turmoiled and attainted with the greivous sicknes of the Plague, and left without guide or counsaile how to succour themselves in extremitie: for where the infestation most rageth, there povertie raigneth among the Commons, which having no supplies to satisfie the greedie desire of those that should attend them, are for the most part left desolate, and die without reliefe. For their sakes have I undertaken this province to write of the Plague, to the end that with a little charge a poore man may have instructions by a little reading both to know and to cure all the evil accidents that attend the diseases. It resteth in your Honor and those your right Worshipfull assistance, to have especiall care that this charitable intent of mine may be furthered by your discreet orders, in such manner that these bookes may be dispersed among those families that are visited, to the end they may finde comfort and cure by their owne hands and diligence. This is the only reward I require, as Almighty God knoweth, to whose mercy I commend you. From my house in Warwicke Lane, this 19 of August.

“Your Honors and Worships in all affection,

“*Thomas Lodge.*”

The address “To the courteous and friendly Reader” commences thus:—

“Thou maist wonder, perhaps, (Gentle Reader) why amongst so many excellent and learned Phisitians of this Citie, I alone have undertaken to answere the expectation of the multitude, and to bear the heavy burthen of contentious Critiques and depravers..... There have beene lately certaine Thessali that have bestowed a new Printed livery on every olde post, and promised such myracles, as if they held the vaine of destiny in their own hands, and were able to make old *Æsau* young againe. Amongst these, one by fortune is become my neighbour, who because at the first he underwrit not his billes, every one that red them came flocking to me, conjuring me by great profers and perswasions to store them with my promised preservative, and relieve their sicke with my cordiall waters. These importunities of theirs made mee both agreeved and amazed; agreeved because of that loathsome imposition which was laid upon me, to make myself vendible, which is unworthy a liberall and gentle minde, much more ill beseeeming a phisitian and philosopher, who ought not to prostitute so sacred a profession so abjectly, but be a contemner of base and servile desire of money,” &c.

I subjoin the conclusion:—

“Thus committing you to him on whose mercy I depend, I take my leave of thee, Gentle Reader, desiring no other reward at thy hands but a few devout praiers for me, which I will pay thee againe with double usury whilst God lendeth me life. Vale.

“Thine in all friendship, THOMAS LODGE.”

It is worthy of notice that Heywood, in 1609, mentions Lodge as one of the eminent physicians of the day.

“As famous Butler, Pady, Turner, Poe,
Atkinson, Lyster, LODGE, who still survive.
Besides these English Gallens,”¹ &c.

A translation of the Works of Seneca, by Dr. Lodge, was published in 1614. It passed through two subsequent impressions, and still remains the only English version. In the earliest edition there is a dedication in Latin to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere.²

Though the name of Lodge is not found in Henslowe's account-book, yet it is known that he wrote, in conjunction with Greene, a play called “A Looking Glasse for London and England;” and that, in 1591, Henslowe drew Lodge's share from its performance. In the reply to Topping, to which I have already alluded, Henslowe states that he had become bail to Lodge from “having some knowledge and acquaintance of him as a player.”

The next notice of Lodge that has come down to

¹ “Troia Britanica; or Great Britaines Troy, a Poem devided into xvii severall Cantons, &c., written by Tho. Heywood,” p. 79. London, 1609, fol.

² Mr. Payne Collier has a copy which was presented by Lodge to Dekker.

us, is still connected with pecuniary difficulties. It is a memorandum in the Privy Council Registers, dated January 10, 1616, of "A passe for Tho. Lodge, Doctor of Physic, and Henry Sewell, gent., to travell into the Arch-Duke's Country, to recover such debts as are due unto them there, taking with them two servants, and to return agayne within five moneths." This was immediately after Henslowe's decease; and it is much more likely, as Mr. Collier observes, that Lodge quitted England to avoid process on the part of Alleyn, than that he went to receive debts due to himself abroad. Alleyn, as is known, arrested Lodge on his return, but with no better ascertained success than Topping.¹

Of Lodge's subsequent history there are few memorials. In 1620, when he published a revised edition of his translation of Seneca, he describes his condition—"my business being great, and my distractions many." His former patron, Lord Ellesmere, being dead, he replaced the dedication of 1614 with the following:—

"To the most noble and my honourable good Lord, Thomas Earle of Suffolke.

"Right Honourable, it is not your Greatnesse that I admire, nor the vaine applause of the multitude, (which may bewitch men, but not perfect them) that makes mee name you Patron of these my Labours. I neither dedicate this famous Worke unto you for the benefits I hope, or the reputation I may get, or upon the errour of custome that pretends more than Nature intended. I will not flatter your Greatnesse in reckoning up your Titles, nor embrace your judgement, that can distinguish times, men, fortunes; both apparently as they seeme, and really as they are. It is your vertue, your goodnessse, your Noble nature, to which I consecrate my endeavours: your Honour (which is the reward of vertue). These, and

nought else, tye me to respect, reverence, and esteeme both your Noble selfe and your Honourable family, to whose services I have inseparably consecrated my best labours. In times past it was the custome of the greatest Monarchies to bestow fained Deities upon their mortall Emperours; of famous Cities to erect statues to their well deserving Senatours; of good Children to raise monuments in honour of their Parents. Yet whatsoever Monarchies have foolishly attempted, Cities have dedicated, Children have erected, their memories, times, place, and (wely) names are extinguished. If Antiquity performed any thing, it is either blasted by flatterie, or concealed by feare.

“This my Present is a richer, more lasting, and happier Jewell; that in many ages, and thorow many fires and combustions, hath continued their fames to whome it was Dedicated, and shall make you live in the reading thereof, and my love prove signall and famous thereby, when haply your worthie deserts shall be obscured or detracted, or your greatest Titles buried in the bosome of Oblivion. Thus hoping that this poore Nestling of my Labour shall be as graciously accepted, as it is honestly and unfainedly intended, I commit your Honour and your whole Family to his protection, who onely searcheth mens hearts, and knoweth how unfainedly I respect both you, your Honour, and Family.

“Your Honours most devoted,

“*Thom. Lodge.*”

“To the Reader.

“Gentle Reader, I present thee once more with Senecaes Translation, if not so fully and exactly cleansed from his former misprisions and errours as I wish, yet I hope in such sort examined and perused, that the judicious Reader shall find lesse matter to accept against, and the indifferent, better light to understand him. My businesse being great, and my distractions many, the Author being seriously succinct, and full of Laconisme, no wonder if in some things my omissions may seeme such, as some whose judgement is mounted above the Epicycle of Mercurie, will find matter enough to carpe at, though not to condemne. Let me intreat this favour at thy hands, curteous Reader, to pretend this Translation to bee a Garden, wherein though thou maiest find many holesome herbes, goodly flowers, and rich medicines; yet can it not be but some weedes may ranckly shoot out, which may smother or obscure the light and lustre of the better. Play the good Gardner, I pray thee, and pulling up the weedes, make thy profit of the flowers. If thou wilt correct, bee considerate before thou attempt, lest in pretending to roote out one, thou

commit many errors. What a Stoicke hath written, reade thou like a Christian. If any doubts entangle thy judgement, have recourse to the sacred Synod of learned and pious Divines; whose judgement will select thee out that which is for thy Soules profit, and dissuade thee from admitting that which may either deprave thy judgment, or corrupt thy Soule. The fruit I expect for my Labour at thy hands, is onely this, to interpret mine actions to the best, and to correct with thy pen that which other men lesse advised have omitted by over hastie labour. Farewell, and enjoy the fruits which I have planted for thy profit; which though these times may haply neglect, the future may both applaude and allow. *Vale.* Thine in all vertuous endeavour,

“Thom. Lodge.”

This Epistle to the Reader is followed by another to the Translator: “To his learned, judicious, and honoured friend, MR. DOCTOR LODGE,” which is subscribed—“Thus with 1620 Commendations unto you, this 15 of September, I rest, the unfained lover of your ingenious endeavours, W. R.”

In the year 1622, he prefixed a commendatory Epistle to a small tract entitled “The Countesse of Lincolnes Nurserie. At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, Printers to the famous University, 1622, 4to.” The dedication “To the Right Honourable and approved vertuous La. Briget, Comtisse of Lincolne,” is subscribed—“Your La. in the best and fastest love, Elizabeth Lincolne.” In this she says, “I doe offer unto your La. the first worke of mine that ever came in print;” the purport of it was “The duty of Nursing due by Mothers to their own children.” Lodge’s address is sufficiently complimentary and pedantic.

“To the Courteous, chiefly most Christian Reader.

“The generall Consent of too many Mothers, in an unnaturall practise,

(most Christian Reader) hath caused one of the Noblest and Fairest hands in this land to set pen and paper. As ashamed to see her sex farther degenerate, desirous for the glory thereof, and have all both rightly knowe and answer their kind, hath made Honour itselfe stoop to these paines, which now shee sends thee to peruse. Three things easily invite to read what to view is offred: Eminency, or interest in the Author; Rarity in the handled matter; Brevity in the quicke despatch. These three meet in this won. The Author so Eminent in Honour, thou canst hardly be anciently honourable, and not be interested in her Honours acquaintance, scarcely not alliance. Next for the Rarenesse; a peculiar tract of this subject, I believe, is not in thine hands. Lastly, it's so briefe, as I am perswaded, it smoothly gliding thee along in the reading, thy sorrow will be, it lands thee so soone. What may give satisfaction to a Reader, let me acquaint thee next, is here to be found. These are two things: Usefulness of the subject; Fulnes for the prosecution. If method and soundnesse can make full, this is full, what not alone confirmation ushering in the assertion, but refutation for ushering out objections can doe to making sound and through, this is such. The accomodation to these particulars (Gentle Reader) I leave to thyselfe, least I become tedious whilst am honoring brevity. The pay, assure thyselfe, will bee larger then the promise. The wine much better then the bush. This one word, and Ile stand out of the gate, thou mayest goe in. If Noble who readest, (likenesse is mother and nurse of liking) this comes from Nobility; approve the rather, and practise. If meaner, blush to deny what Honour becomes speaker to perswade to, president to lead the way to. And so I either humbly take my leave, or bid Farewell.

“Blest is the land where sons of Nobles raigne,
 Blest is the land where Nobles teach their traine.
 To Church for blisse Kings, Queenes should nurses be.
 To State its blisse great dames babes nurse to see.
 Go, then, great booke of Nursing, plead the cause:
 Teach high'st, low'st, all, it's God's and Natures lawes.”

“This eminent Doctor,” (says Anthony Wood) “who practised his faculty in Warwick Lane, in the beginning of King James the First's [reign], and afterwards in Lambert Hill, removed thence, a little before his last end, into the parish of St. Mary Mag-

dalen, in Old Fish Street, London, where he made his last exit (of the plague, I think) in 1625, leaving then behind him a widow called Joan;¹ but where buried, unless in the church or yard there, I know not." Wood's information is as usual correct. Lodge died in the year 1625; and, on the 12th of October, in that year, administration of his effects was granted to "Jane relict of Thomas Lodge, M.D., of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London." His wife's maiden name is unknown; but Mr. Hunter has discovered that one Thomas Lodge, M.D., of the poet's time, married the widow of Soloman Aldred.²

In considering Lodge's literary character, it may be remarked that he belongs to a class of writers, the Greenes, Lylys, Marlowes, and Peeles, displaying poetical and dramatic genius, not indeed of the highest order, but from the versatility of their talents, and the early period in which they flourished, as the precursors of our greater English dramatists, not likely to be soon forgotten.

That Lodge may have written other works for the stage besides the two with which his name is associated, is highly probable, but no Henslowe of the time has preserved a record of such performances earlier than 1591. In "The Looking Glasse for London," he had as a joint author Robert Greene, but it would not be easy to distinguish their respective

¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 384.

² "New Illustrations of Shakespeare," i., 334, by Rev. Joseph Hunter. Lond., 1845. The existing registers of St. Mary Magdalen commence in 1664.

portions. In this play, the Scriptural history of Nineveh is applied to the city of London, and it contains a severe moral lecture on the abuses of the times, exhibiting, in a most incongruous manner, the effects and reprobating the crimes of murder, incest, bribery, usury, and drunkenness, which abounded in the ancient city. Lodge's historical play, "The Wounds of Civil War," is founded chiefly on the lives of Marius and Sylla, in Plutarch, and is written in a loftier strain, but is disfigured by some scenes of low buffoonery. Mr. Collier remarks, "we can hardly call it a work of genius, but unquestionably it required no common talent to produce it.....The characters of old Marius and of his younger rival are drawn with great force, spirit, and distinctness; a task the more difficult, because they resembled each other in the great leading features of ambition and cruelty." ¹

The miscellaneous prose writings of Lodge are more numerous, but, like those of his friend Greene, are not likely to attract much attention, except as containing frequent and curious illustrations of the state of manners; although written in a style too pedantic, they are not devoid of interest. His tale of Rosalynd has peculiar attractions, as having furnished Shakespeare with the incidents and most of the characters in "As You Like It."

His translations are not to be overlooked. To the revised edition of Seneca, as already stated, he prefixes a letter of commendation, by his friend, W. R.,

¹ Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. iii., p. 215.

who has thus characterized the mode of translation adopted by Lodge:—

“Worthy Sir. Having perused your selected Translation of Seneca, I cannot but ingenuously approve it. Nor is my judgment single. More learned men confirm it.....You have uncovered the veile of that sacred Temple, and opened the mysteries thereof to everie eye, that before lay hidden (save to a few) in the maske of a forraine language. You are his profitable Tutor, and have instructed him to walke and talke in perfect English. If his matter held not still the Roman Majestie, I should mistake him one of ours, he delivers his mind so significantly and fitly. Surely, had hee chose any other tongue to write in, my affection thinkes it had beene English; and in English, as you have taught him in your Translation, you expresse him so lively, being still the same Man, in other garments. He hath onely changed his habit, like a discreete traveller, to the fashion of the countrie he is in, retaining still the native gravitie of his countenance, and naturall, gracious comportment. For you have not suited him so lightly, to lose them. You would not; you could not. For his Genius prompted you to write, as himself would have spoken. His spirit breathed in you; over-ruled you.

“That you have not, parot-like, spoken his owne words, and lost yourself literally in a Latine eccho, rendering him precisely verbatim, as if tied to his tongue, but retaining his sence, have expressed his meaning in our proper English elegancies and phrase, is in a Translatour a discretion that not onely I commend, but Horace also commendeth:

“Nec verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus
Interpres.”

It is however in his character as a Poet that Lodge perhaps claims his chief distinction. It may, therefore, be hoped that the plan which Mr. Singer, in his *Select Early English Poets*, left uncompleted, may yet be accomplished, by publishing the whole of Lodge's poetical compositions in a collective form. In his “*Fig for Momus*,” 1595, after explaining his reasons for adopting this title, he adds: “I have thought good to include Satyres, Eclogues, and

Epistles: first, by reason that I studie to delight with varietie, next, because *I would write in that forme wherein no man might challenge me with servile imitation* (wherewith heretofore I have been unjustly taxed)." This may not have had any reference to his earlier poem of Glaucus and Sylla; but the supposition has been hazarded, that in this poem, being written in the same stanza, and bearing in some passages points of resemblance, Lodge had taken Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" for his model. This proceeds upon an assumption that the latter was written before Shakespeare quitted Stratford-upon-Avon, in 1586 or 1587, and that it had been circulated in manuscript.¹ It is at least as probable that Shakespeare may have seen Lodge's volume, which was printed in 1589, or four years before "Venus and Adonis" made its appearance, and in which the allusion to Venus lamenting the fate of Adonis surely cannot have been unknown to one like Lodge, who was so familiar with classical literature.

In regard to his Satires, some diversity of opinion has also been expressed as to the claims of priority among the English satirists of this time. Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, when he published his "Virgidemiarum," in 1597, boldly claimed this for himself.

"I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English satirist."

On the other hand, Mr. Collier claims the same dis-

¹ See communication by James P. Reardon, Esq., in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," vol. iii., p. 143.

inction for Dr. Donne,¹ as a copy of his first three Satires exists in a manuscript, with the date of 1593, two years prior to Lodge's volume having been issued from the press. But Lodge's own words are sufficient to prove that his attention had for some time been directed to this form of composition; nor should it be overlooked that, in 1592, Greene so pointedly cautioned Lodge against indulging himself in any other than general satire, and to avoid whatever was personal. "My Satyres (to speake truth) are by pleasures, rather placed here to prepare and trie the eare, than to feede it: *because if they passe well, the whole Centon of them, alreadie in my hands, shall sodainly bee published.*" In like manner, he adds, "For my Epistles, they are in that kind, wherein no Englishman of our time hath publiquely written." Mr. Singer, in his edition of Bishop Hall's Satires, after noticing that he had been anticipated by Lodge, and "that Donne and Marston too appear to have written about the same time, though posterior in the order of publication," adds this remark: "What is more important, however, if not the *first*, Hall may justly lay claim to be considered the *best* satirist of his age; and when we remember that the writer was only twenty-three years old at the time of publication, we cannot but regret that graver studies should have so absorbed his life, as to give him neither leisure nor inclination to renew his acquaintance with the Muse."²

¹ Collier's Poetical Decameron, vol. i., p. 123.

² Satires, by Joseph Hall, p. vii. Chiswick, 1824, 12mo.

It would appear that Lodge's success as a poet was not equal to that as a novelist or miscellaneous writer, or such as to induce him to attempt those greater efforts to which he occasionally alludes. In one of his Eclogues, inscribed to Drayton, under the name of Rowland, he introduces himself by the name of Golde, being an inversion of the letters of his own name. It begins:—

“ Whie sings not Golde as he whilome did,
In sacred numbers, and diviner vaine,
Such hymnes as from bace-humor'd braines are hid ?”

He enlarges on the little encouragement awarded—

“ In such an age, where learning hath no laude,
Nor needie Homer welcome, or applaude ”—

and his resolution to follow other pursuits, since he says: “ Arts perish, wanting honour and applause.”

“ Which sound rewards, since this neglectful time
Repines to yeeld to men of high desert,
I'le cease to revel out my wits in rime,
For such who make so base account of art :
And since by wit there is no meanes to clime,
I'le hould the plough a while, and plie the cart,
And if my Muse to wonted course returne,
I'le write, and judge, peruse, commend, and burne.”

Sir Egerton Brydges has paid a just and eloquent tribute to his genius, in his republication of “ England's Helicon,” a poetical miscellany, to which Lodge was a contributor, in 1600. “ By far the first of these,” (he remarks) “ are the compositions of Dr. Thomas Lodge and Nicholas Breton. That the genius of both these writers was not only

elegant and highly polished, but pure and unsophisticated, and far above the taste of their age, may be safely affirmed.....In Lodge we find whole pastorals and odes, which have all the ease, polish, and elegance, of a modern author. How natural is the sentiment, and how sweet the expression, of the following, in *Old Damon's Pastoral*:

“ ‘Homely hearts do harbour quiet,
Little fear, and mickle solace;
States suspect their bed and diet;
Fear and craft do haunt the palace.

Little would I, little want I,
When the mind and store agreeth;
Smallest comfort is not scanty;
Least he longs that little seeth.

Time hath been that I have longed,
Foolish and to like of folly,
To converse where honour thronged,
To my pleasures linked wholly.

Now I see, and seeing sorrow,
That the day consum'd returns not:
Who dare trust upon to morrow,
When nor time nor life sojourns not.’

“ How charmingly he breaks out, in *The Solitary Shepherd's Song*:

“ ‘O shady vale, O fair enriched meads,
O sacred woods, sweet fields, and rising mountains;
O painted flowers, green herbs where Flora treads,
Refresh'd by wanton winds and watry fountains!’

“ Is there one word or even accent obsolete in this picturesque and truly poetical stanza?

“ But if such a tender and moral fancy be ever allowed to trifle, is there any thing of the same kind

in the whole compass of English poetry more exquisite, more delicately imagined, or expressed with more happy artifice of language, than *Rosalynd's Madrigal*, beginning—

“ ‘ Love in my bosom, like a bee,
Doth suck his sweet:
Now with his wings he plays with me,
Now with his feet.
Within mine eyes he makes his rest,
His bed amidst my tender breast;
And yet he robs me of my rest.
Ah, wanton, will ye?.....’

“ Compare Dr. Lodge not only with his contemporaries but his successors, and who, except Breton, has so happily anticipated the taste, simplicity, and purity, of the most refined age?”

Well might Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, commend him as “one of the writers of those pretty old songs and madrigals, which are very much the strain of those times.” Although not free from the conceits and quaintness which disfigure so many of the older poets, the ease and natural simplicity of his verses will always secure to THOMAS LODGE a place of distinction among the poets of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

CATALOGUE
OF
THOMAS LODGE'S WORKS.

I. A Reply to Stephen Gosson's School of Abuse, in defence of Poetry, Musick, and Stage Plays. 1579-80. Small 8vo., 16 pp. Without title or imprint.

[Only two copies of this unpublished tract (both from Heber's collection) are known to exist. One is in Mr. Miller's library, at Britwell House, Bucks; the other in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This tract forms the first article in the present volume.]

II. An Alarum against Vsurers: containing tried experiences against worldly abuses, &c. Heereunto are annexed the delectable Historie of Forbonius and Prisceria: with the lamentable Complaint of Truth ouer England. Written by Thomas Lodge, of Lincolnes Inne, Gentleman.—Imprinted at London, by T. Este, for Sampson Clarke, &c. 1584, 4to. Black letter. A to L, in fours, with two leaves marked ¶ following the Dedication and Epistle.

[Of this volume only two perfect copies are known, and, like the preceding, they are at Britwell, and in the Bodleian Library. It is reprinted in the present volume.]

III. Scillaes Metamorphosis: enterlaced with the unfortunate Love of Glaucus. Whereunto is annexed the delectable Discourse of the discontented Satyre:

with sundrie other most absolute Poems and Sonnets. Contayning the detestable tyrannie of Disdaine, and Comickall triumph of Constancie: verie fitt for young Courtiers to peruse, and coy Dames to remarke. By Thomas Lodge, of Lincolnes Inne, Gentleman. *O vita! misero longa, foelici brevis.*—Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones, and are to be sold at his shop, neere Holburne bridge, at the signe of the Rose and Crowne. 1589, 4to. A to F 2, in fours, black letter.

[Dedicated "To his especiall good friende, Master Rafe Crane, and the rest of his most entire well willers, the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court and Chancerie." See page xxv. A copy is in the Bodleian Library, another in the collection of the Rev. Alexander Dyce. At Caldecott's sale, in 1843, it fetched £8. Some copies of this volume were reissued with a new title-page: "A most pleasant Historie of Glaucus and Scilla. With many excellent Poems and delectable Sonnets. Imprinted at London, 1610," 4to. In the collection of J. Payne Collier, Esq., only. These poems were reprinted, with a selection of other lyrical and pastoral poems by Lodge, at Chiswick, 1819, 12mo., edited by S. W. Singer, Esq., who proposed to have added a second part of Lodge's Poems; but this intention was never carried into effect.]

IV. Rosalynde. Euphues golden Legacie: found after his death in his Cell at Silixedra. Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes noursed vp with their father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries. By T. L. Gent.—London, imprinted by Thomas Orwin for T. G. and John Busbie. 1590, 4to. A to S 2, in fours, black letter.

[It is dedicated "To the Right Honourable and his most esteemed Lord, the Lord of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine of her Majesties household, and Governor of Barwicke." In this epistle the author refers to his having been educated at Oxford, and to his having, with Captain Clarke,

made a voyage to the islands of Terceras and the Canaries. See page xxvii. A copy of this edition, at Britwell, has Sign. R supplied, in MS., in an old hand.

This work was several times reprinted. (2.) "London, printed by Abel Ieffes for T. G. and Iohn Busbie, 1592," 4to. (Bodleian Library.) To this edition there was prefixed a leaf with the title, "The Seedule annexed to Euphues Testament," &c.—(3.) A third edition was "Printed by N. Lyng for T. Gubbins, 1598." (J. P. Collier, Esq.)—(4.) "Imprinted at London by I. R. for N. Lyng, 1604." (Mr. Miller's library, at Britwell.)—(5.) "Imprinted at London, 1609. (Bodleian Library.)—(6.) "Imprinted for Iohn Smethwick, 1612." (British Museum.)—(7.) "Imprinted for Iohn Smethwick, 1623." (Library at Britwell, and the Rev. Alexander Dyce.)—(8.) "Printed for Francis Smethwicke, 1642." (*Bibl. Anglo-Poet.*, No. 422.) All these editions are in 4to., black letter. In the two later editions, the title of "Rosalynd" is omitted. The edition of 1592 was reprinted by Mr. Collier, as the original novel upon which Shakespeare founded his "As You Like It," in the first volume of "Shakespeare's Library," &c. London, Thomas Rodd, 1841-1843, 2 vols., 8vo.]

V. The famous, true and historicall Life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaiour, Robin the Diuell, Wherein is contained his dissolute life in his youth, his deuout reconcilment and vertues in his age: interlaced with many straunge and miraculous aduentures. Wherein are both causes of profite, and manie conceits of pleasure. By T. L. G.—Imprinted at London for N. L. and Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold at the West dore of Paules. 1591, 4to. A 2 and B to M 3, in fours, black letter.

[Dedicated "To the worshipfull and true Mœcenas of learning, Mr. Thomas Smith." Dated "From my Chamber, 2 Maij, 1591." See page xxix. Mr. Heber's copy, the only perfect one at present known, is now in the late Mr. Miller's library, at Britwell. Mr. Collier has an imperfect copy. It is curious to trace the history of such a volume. Heber's MS. note says, "The present was probably Lord Oxford's copy: see the

Harleian Cat., ii., 12,088." It is in Harleian binding, with the Swinton crest added; and from a private mark, I find it had been purchased in Edinburgh, for not many shillings, by the Duke of Roxburghe, in 1793. In 1811, at the Roxburghe sale, (6771) it fetched £19; in 1819, at the White Knight's, £14; in 1834, at Heber's, (part viii.) £10 10s.]

VI. Catharos. Diogenes in his Singularitie. Wherein is comprehended his merry baighting, fit for all mens benefits: christened by him A Nettle for Nice Noses. By T. L., of Lincolns Inn, Gent. —At London, printed by William Hoskins and Iohn Danter for Iohn Busbie. 1591. 4to. A 2 to I 3, in fours, black letter.

[This tract is dedicated by the bookseller, John Busbie, "To the Right Worshypfull Syr Iohn Hart, Knight."—"I present your Worship" (he says) "in signe of my sincere affect, with this small conceit, pend by a Gentleman my deare friend." Copies of this tract are preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and in the Earl of Ellesmere's collection. Mr. Collier also possesses a copy.]

VII. Euphues Shadow, the Battaille of the Sences: wherein youthfull folly is set downe in his right figure, and vaine fancies are proved to produce many offences. Hereunto is annexed the Deafe Man's Dialogue, contayning Philamis Athanatos: fit for all sortes to peruse, and the better sorte to practise. By T. L., Gent. London, printed by Abell Jeffes for John Busbie, &c. 1592. 4to.

[In the British Museum, and in Mr. Collier's library. This tract, as already noticed, was published during Lodge's absence, by Robert Greene.]

VIII. Phillis: honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights. Where-vnto is annexed, the tragicall complaynt of Elstred. *Iam Phoebus disiungit equos, iam Cinthia iungit.*—At London,

Printed for Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold at his shoppe, at the West-doore of Paules, 1593. 4to.

[Title, leaf marked A 3, with the Epistle to the right worthy and noble Lady, the Comtesse of Shrewesbury, (See page xxxvii.) and B to L, in fours, 4to. In Mr. Miller's library, at Britwell; another copy among the Hawthornden books, in the University Library, Edinburgh; and a third (wanting the title) in Capel's collection, Trinity College, Cambridge. The Britwell copy, formerly Mr. Heber's, has a curious variation in a duplicate leaf, B 1, or "The Induction." In the third verse, the lines, as first printed—

"And thou, the Ascrean Poet of our time,
Vnder whose stile conceit was neuer matched;
The Genius of my muse," &c.—

were changed as follows:—

"And thou, the true Octauia of our time,
Vnder whose worth, beauty was neuer matched;
The Genius of my Muse," &c.

In like manner, the last lines of the fourth verse—

"Yet these, I hope, vnder your kinde aspect,
(Thow flower of knight-hood) shall escape neglect"—

were thus altered—

"Yet these, (I hope) vnder your kind aspect,
(Most worthy Lady) shall escape neglect."

This evidently suggests that the poems, before publication, were intended to have been dedicated to some person of distinction, referred to in the seventh verse—

"Under a great Mecenas I have past you;"

and that a prose dedication as well as this leaf of induction may have been cancelled, and replaced with that to Lady Shrewesbury. In this induction there is a delicate compliment paid to Spenser:—

"If so you come where learned *Colin* feedes
His louely flocke, packe thence and quickly haste you;
You are but mistes before so bright a sunne,
Who hath the Palme for deepe inuention wunne."

And also to Samuel Daniel, who shortly before had published his volume called "*Delia*:"—

"Kisse *Delias* hand for her sweet Prophets sake."

Drummond of Hawthornden has marked Sonnets 21 and 22 as translations from Ariosto, and 33 from Ronsard; and Mr. Heber, in a MS. note, points out that Sonnet 15 is inserted in "*England's Helicon*," 1600, with

the signature S. E. D., and thence copied into Ellis's Specimens, as if it had been written by Sir Edward Dyer.]

IX. The Life and Death of William Longbeard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the Citty of London. Accompanied with manye other most pleasant and prettie Histories, By T. L., of Lincoln's Inne, Gent. *Et nugæ seria ducunt*—Printed at London, by Rychard Yardley and Peter Short, dwelling on Breadstreat hill, at the Signe of the Starre. 1593, 4to. Title, and A to I 2, in fours. Black letter.

[See dedication at p. xxxviii. In the Bodleian Library, with the name of G. Steevens stamped on the title; and J. P. Collier, Esq. These we believe are the only two perfect copies extant: an imperfect copy in the Biblioth. Anglo-Poetica, No. 935. The "pleasant and pretty Histories" mentioned in the title are thus enumerated:—

"The Life and Death of William Longbeard.

Of manie famous Pirats, who in times past were Lordes of the Sea.

The Historie of Partaritus, King of Lomberdie.

The wonderful dreame of Aspatia.

A wunderful revenge of Megollo.

The memorable deeds of Valasca.

An excellent example of continence in Francis Sforza.

Of many unfortunate men.

How King Roderigo lost his kingdome.

Of many famous men.

A most subtile dispute amongst Ambassadors.

Strange Lawes of Tyrsus the Tyrant."]

X. The Wounds of Civill War: lively set forth in the true Tragedies of Marius and Scilla. As it hath beene publicquely plaide in London, by the Right Honourable the Lord high Admirall his Servants. Written by Thomas Lodge, Gent. *O vita! misero longa, felici brevis.*—London, printed by Iohn Danter,

and are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne, in Paules Church-yarde. 1594. A to K, in fours.

[Bodleian Library, British Museum, two copies, Mr. Miller's library, Britwell, (the Roxburghe copy) J. Payne Collier, Esq., and the Rev. Alexander Dyce. It is reprinted in Dodsley's Select Collection of Old Plays, new edition, vol. viii. London, 1825, post 8vo., with an introductory notice by Mr. Collier.]

XI. A Looking Glasse for London and England. Made by Thomas Lodge, Gentleman, and Robert Greene. In Artibus Magister.—London, printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Gracious streete. 1594. 4to. Black letter.

[The only known copy of this edition, which was formerly in Mr. Kemble's collection, is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. There is another edition, with the same imprint, in 1598. Copies are in the Bodleian Library, in the British Museum, and in Mr. Collier's hands. The late editions of 1602 and 1617, imprinted by Bernard Alsop, are also in the same libraries. The Rev. Mr. Dyce possesses a copy of that of 1617. This play is reprinted in the carefully edited edition of "The Dramatic Works of Robert Greene, to which are added his Poems, with some account of the Author, and Notes, by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, B.A." London, 1831. 2 vols., post 8vo.]

XII. A Fig for Momus: containing Pleasant varietie, included in Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles, by T. L., of Lincolnes Inne, Gent. *Che pecora si fa, il lupo selo mangia*.—At London, printed for Clement Knight, and are to bee solde at his shop, at the little North-doore of Paules Church. 1595, 4to. A to I 3, in fours.

[Dedicated "To the right Honorable and thrice renoumed Lord, William Earle of Darbie," whom he styles "the true Mecœnas of the Muses." See page xxxix. Bodleian Library, and library at Britwell. The

volume was reprinted at the Auchinleck Press, (in Ayrshire) by the late Sir Alexander Boswell, Bart., 1817, 4to. Mr. Collier has an old MS. copy.]

XIII. The Diuel coniured.—London, printed by Adam Islip for William Mats, dwelling in Fleetstreet, at the sign of the Hand and Plough. Anno 1596, 4to. A 2 to M 2, in fours, black letter.

[Dedicated “To the right honorable and learned Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer,” &c. See page xl. In the Bodleian Library, library at Britwell, and the British Museum.]

XIV. A Margarite of America. By T. Lodge. Printed for Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold in S. Dunstan’s church-yard in Fleet-street, at the little shop next Cliffords Inne. 1596, 4to. A 2 to N 1, in fours.

[See the dedication and epistle, at page xli. In the British Museum, two copies, and in the Bodleian Library.]

XV. VVits Miserie, and the VWorlds Madnesse: discovering the Deuils Incarnat of this Age.—London, printed by Adam Islip, and are to be sold by Cutbert Burby, at his shop by the Roiall Exchange. 1596, 4to. A 2 to P, in fours, black letter.

[In the library at Britwell, and in the Bodleian Library, there are two copies; one of these exhibits a curious typographical mistake in the first line of the title, having WILS MISERIE, in place of WITS MISERIE. The dedication, dated from “Low-Laiton, this 5 of November, 1596,” has already been quoted, at page xliii.]

XVI. The famous and memorable Workes of IOSEPHUS, a man of much Honour and Learning among the Jewes. Faithfully translated out of the Latin and French by Tho. Lodge, Doctor in Physicke. *Bernardus Epistola ad Sugerium. Tunc re-*

centia iucundius bona clarescent, cum fuerint malis comparata prioribus. — Printed at the charges of G. Bishop, S. Waterton, P. Short, and Tho. Adams. 1602. Folio.

[Of this edition a copy is in the library at Britwell. The translation was reprinted in 1609, 1620, 1632, 1640, (Printed for Anne Hood) 1655, and 1670. Besides these, there were editions “revised and amended, according to the excellent French translation of M. Arnauld d’Andilly,” in 1683 and 1693, all in folio.—Clarke’s Bibliographical Miscellany, vol. i., p. 127.]

XVII. A Treatise of the Plague: containing the Nature, Signes, and Accidents, of the same, with the certaine and absolute cure of the Feuers, Botches, and Carbuncles, that raigne in these times: And above all things most singular Experiments and Preservatives in the same, gathered by the Observation of divers worthy Travailers, and selected out of the Writings of the best learned Phisitians in this age. By Thomas Lodge, Doctor in Phisicke.—London, printed for Edward White and N. L. 1603, 4to. A to L 3, in fours, black letter.

[Dedicated “To the right Hon. the Lord Maior, and to the right Worshipfull the Aldermen and Sherriifes of the Citie of London.” See page li. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, and Mr. Collier’s collection.]

XVIII. The Workes, both Morrall and Natural, of Lucius Annæus Seneca. Translated by T. Lodge, D. of Phis.—London, printed by William Stansby. Fo.

[This on the centre of an emblematical title, representing *Morientis Effigies*, “Ingr. by W. Hole,” followed by a printed title-page: “The Workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca, both Morrall and Naturall. Contain- ing, &c. Translated by Tho. Lodge, D. in Physicke. London, printed by William Stansby, 1614,” folio, pp. 917, besides the preliminary leaves

and the table. "Gentle Reader," (he says) "for thee I laboured, for thy good have I made this admirable Roman speake English; if it profit thee, I have my wish, if it displease thee, it is thy want of judgment." Prefixed is a long Latin dedication to Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England, as the chief patron of philosophical studies at Oxford. This is followed by another epistle: "Reverendissimis Doctoribus, cæterisque in Stadio Literario optime exercitatis lectoribus, Tho. Lodge, D. Medicus Physicus: Salutem." Mr. Collier possesses a copy, with an autograph inscription of Thomas Dekker, as the gift of the translator in 1614. At an interval of six years, this translation was republished, with an emblematical engraved title-page—"R. E., [Elstrack] sc."—the design is quite distinct from the former, and in the centre, "The Workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca: newly Inlarged and Corrected by Thomas Lodge, D. M. P. London, printed by William Stansby." 1620, folio. The date appears in the colophon, and the text ends on page 921. This edition is not uncommon, and was reprinted in 1632, folio.]

XIX. The Poore Mans Talent.

[An unpublished Manuscript. The above is the whole of the title-page. The MS. consists of sixty-nine leaves, but the last two contain medical receipts in later hands. "This unpublished work," says Mr. Collier, in whose possession it is, "was written by some scribe, but it is throughout corrected in the handwriting of the author, and it was sold with the books of the old Duke of Norfolk." The epistle to Anne Countess of Arundell is in the poet's autograph, and a facsimile is annexed. This Lady Anne, sister and coheir of Thomas Lord Dacre, married Philip Earl of Arundel, who languished as a prisoner in the Tower till his death, in 1595. She survived till 1630. Their son, Thomas Earl of Arundel, born in 1586, distinguished himself, in the reign of Charles the First, as a collector of antiquities and of works of art.

"To the Right Honorable my very good Ladie, the Ladie Anne, Mother Countess of Arundell.

"Right Honorable—Amidst the tempests of fortune and the tiranies of sicknes, I have (to satisfie your expectation) finished the booke I promised: wherein I have observed a plaine and easie methode to cure the infirmities of the bodie. The medicines are familiar, and such as everie Apothecarie hath in a redines, or your garden and the feildes will afford you: wherebie your Charitie (which is unconfined) maie the more easelie and with less chardge be imparted to all, both riche and poore, that have recourse unto you in theare necessities. Besides, if you dilligentlie peruse

the Booke, you shall finde that which the greatest Phisitions builde theare judgments upon. I had in person presented this booke, but that the infirmitie of my bodie is such, as my will cannot overmaster yt. Accept yt, noble Maddam, as it is intended, from him that to the uttermost of his power with an unfained harte will both prairie for you and serve you.

To: Madame to see yo.^r Revire.
Thomas Lodge

Such is the Catalogue of Lodge's miscellaneous and poetical writings, in so far as the researches of Mr. Collier and other diligent investigators of early English literature have been able to discover. That he published other tracts, not now known to be extant, is highly probable, or rather certain. For instance, in the "Catalogue of the large and curious English Library of Mr. John Hutton, late of St. Paul's Church-yard, London," sold by auction in October, 1764, is the following lot:—

"No. 1510. TRACTS.—Scillaes Metamorphosis, with other Poems, by Lodge. B. L. 1590.—Diogenes in his Singularitie, or a Nettle for nice Noses, by ditto. B. L.—The famous, true, and historical Life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robin the Divell, by ditto. B. L. 1591.—A Margarite of America, by ditto. B. L. 1596.—An Alarum against Usurers, by ditto; dedicated to Sir P. Sidney. B. L. 1584.—A Fig for Momus, by ditto. 1595.—A Spyders Webbe, by ditto. B. L. No date."

The last of these seven tracts, "A Spyders Webbe," is wholly unknown, and no copy of his "Scillaes Metamorphosis," dated 1590, has been discovered.

In proof of the inconsiderable pecuniary value of such tracts, at that time, it may be noticed that this volume, or lot, fetched the sum of six shillings! Several of these tracts have singly, in more recent times, fetched from five to ten pounds, and upwards; and one of them, the “Alarum against Usurers,” (re-printed in the present volume) at Bindley’s sale, actually produced twenty-seven pounds. In the same sale of Hutton’s books, we also find three other tracts by our author, viz:—

“5214. Lodge, Thomas, Life and death of William Longbeard, &c. B. L. 1593. 5s.

5215. ———, Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, discovering the Divels incarnat of this age. B. L. 1596. 2s. 6d.

5216. ———, The Devil conjured. B. L. 1596. 2s.”

In one of Greene’s pamphlets, “The Spanish Masquerade,” printed in 1589, Lodge prefixed some verses in French. (Greene’s Works, by Dyce, vol. i., p. xxxviii.) He has also commendatory verses in the “Writing Schoolemaster,” by Peter Bales, London, 1590, 4to.

A REPLY
TO STEPHEN GOSSON'S
SCHOOLE OF ABUSE,

*IN DEFENCE OF POETRY,
MUSICK, AND STAGE PLAYS.*

By THOMAS LODGE.

Protogenes can know Apelles by his line though he se him not, and wise men can consider by the penn the auctoritie of the Writer though they know him not. The Rubie is discerned by his pale rednes; and who hath not hard that the Lyon is knowne by hys clawes? Though Æsopes craftie crowe be neuer so deftlye decked, yet is his double dealing esely desiphered: and though men never so perfectly pollish there wrytings with others sentences, yet the simple truth will discover the shadow of ther follies: and bestowing euery fether in the bodye of the right M. tourne out the naked dissembler into his owen cote, as a spectacle of follye to all those which can rightlye judge what imperfections be.

There came to my hands lately a litle (woulde God a wittye) pamphlet, baring a fayre face as though it were the Scoole of Abuse; but being by me aduisedly wayed I fynd it the oftscome of imperfections, the writer fuller of wordes then judgement, the matter certainly as ridiculous as serius: assuredly his mother witte wrought this wonder, the child to dispraise his father, the dogg to byte his mayster for his dainty morcell. But I se (with Seneca) that the wrong is to be suffered, since he disprayseth, who by costome hath left to speake well. But I meane to be short: and teach the Maister what he knoweth not, partly that he may se his own follie, and partly that I may discharge my promise, both bind me: therefore I would wish the good scholmayster to ouer looke his Abuses againe with me, so shall he see an ocean of inormities which begin in his first prinsipale in the dispraise of Poetry. And first let me familiarly consider with this find faulte what the learned have alwayes esteemed of Poetrie.

Seneca thoughte a stoike would have a poetickall sonne, and amongst the auncientest Homer was no les accompted then *Humanus deus*. What made Alexander, I pray you, esteeme of him so much? why allotted he for his Works so curious a closset? was ther no fitter underprop for his pillow then a simple pamphlet? in all Darius cofers was there no jewell so costly? Forsoth my thinks these two (the one the father of Philosophers, the other the cheftaine of Chiuallrie) were both deceiued if all were as a Gosson would wish them; yf poets paynt naughte but palterie toyes in vearse, their studies tended to foolishnesse, and in all their indeuors they did naught els but *agendo nihil agere*. Lord, howe Virgil's poore Gnatt pricketh him, and how Ouid's Fley byteth him! he can beare no bourde, he hath raysed up a new sect of serius Stoikes, that can abide naught but their owen shadowe, and alow nothing worthye, but what they conceaue. Did you never reade (my ouer wittie frend) that vnder the persons of beastes many abuses were dissiphered? have you not reason to waye? that whatsoeuer ether Virgil did write of his Gnatt, or Ouid of his Fley, was all couertly to declare abuse? but you are (*homo literatus*) a man of the letter, little sauoring of learning, your giddy brain made you leave your thrift, and your abuses in London some part of your honestie. You say that Poets are subtil, if so, you have learned that poynt of them, you can well glose on a trifeling text. But you have dronke perhaps of Lethe, your gramer learning is out of your head, you forget your Accidence, you remember not that under the person of Æneas in Virgil the practice of a dilligent captaine is discribed; under the shadow of byrds, beastes and trees, the follies of the world were disiphered; you know not, that the creation is signified in the image of Prometheus; the fall of pryde in the person of Narcissus; these are toyes because they sauor of wisdom which you want. Marke what Campanus sayth, *Mira fabularum vanitas, sed quæ si introspiciantur videri possunt non vanæ*. The vanitie of tales is

wonderful, yet if we aduisedly look into them they wil seme and proue wise. How wonderful are the pithie poemes of Cato? the curious comedies of Plautus? how brauely discovereth Terence our imperfection in his Eunuch? how neatly dissiphereth he Dauus? how pleasauntly paynteth he out Gnatho? whom if we shoulde seeke in our dayes, I suppose he would not be farr from your Parson.

But I see you would seeme to be that which you are not, and as the prouerb sayth, *Nodum in Cirpo quærere*. Poetes you say use coullors to couer their incouiences, and wittie sentences to burnish their bawdery, and you diuinite to cover your knauerye. But tell mee truth Gosson, speakest thou as thou thinkest? what coelers findest thou in a Poete not to be admitted? are his speeches unperfect? sauer they of inscience. I think, if thou hast any shame, thou canst not but like and approve them: are their gods displeant vnto thee? doth Saturne in his majesty moue thee? doth Juno with her riches displease thee? doth Minerua with her weapon discomfort thee? doth Apollo with his harping harme thee? thou mayst say nothing les then harme thee, because they are not, and I thinke so to[o], because thou knowest them not. For wot thou that in the person of Saturne our decaying yeares are signified; in the picture of angry Juno, our affections are dissiphered; in the person of Minerua is our understanding signified, both in respect of warre, as policie. When they faine that Pallas was begotten of the braine of Jupiter, their meaning is none other, but that al wisdom (as the learned say) is from aboue, and commeth from the Father of Lights: in the portrature of Apollo all knowledge is denocated. So that, what so they wrot, it was to this purpose, in the way of pleasure to draw men to wisdom: for seing the world in those daies was vnperfect, yt was necessary that they like good Phisi[tions]: should so frame their potions, that they might be appliable to the quesie stomachs of their werish patients. But our

studientes by your meanes have made shipwrack of theyr labors, our schoolemaisters haue so offended that by your judgement they shall *subire poenam capitis* for teaching Poetry; the universitie is litle beholding to you, al their practices in teaching are friuolus. Witt hath wrought that in you, that yeares and studie neuer settled in the heads of our sagest doctors. No mervel though you dispraysse Poetrye, when you know not what it meanes.

Erasmus will make that the path waye to knowledge which you dispraysse; and no meane Fathers vouchsafe in their seriouse questiones of deuinitie, to inserte poetically sensures. I think if we shal wel ouerloke the Philosophers, we shal find their judgements not halfe perfect. Poetes, you saye, fayle in their fables, Philosophers in the verye secrets of Nature. Though Plato could wish the expulsion of Poetes from his well publiques, which he might doe with reason, yet the wisest had not all that same opinion, it had bene better for him to have sercht more narrowly what the soul was, for his difinition was verye friuolous, when he would make it naught els but *Substantiam intellectu predic-tam*. If you say that Poetes did labour about nothing, tell me (I besech you) what wonders wroughte those your dunce Doctors in ther reasons *de ente, et non ente?* in [is] theyr definition of no force, and les witt? how sweate they power soules in makeinge more things then cold be? that I may use your owne phrase, did not they spende one candle by seeking another. Democritus, Epicurus, with ther scholler Metrodorus, how labored they in finding out more worlds then one? your Plato in midst of his presisnes wrought that absurdite that neuer may be redd in Poets, to make a yearthly creature to beare the person of the Creator, and a corruptible substance, an incomprehensible God! for determining of the principall causes of all thinges, a made them naughte els but an Idea which if it be conferred wyth the truth, his sentence will sauour of Inscience. But I speake

for Poetes, I answere your Abuse, therefore I will disprove, or dispraysse naught, but wish you with the wise Plato, to dispraysse that thing you offend not in. Seneca sayth, that the studdie of Poets, is to make children, ready to the vnderstanding of wisdom, and that our auncients did teache *artes Eleutherias, i. liberales*, because the instructed children, by the instrument of knowledg in time became, *homines liberi, i. Philosophye*. It may be that in reiding of poetry, it happened to you as it is with the Oyster, for she in her swimming receiueth no ayre, and you in your reiding lesse instruction. It is reported that the sheepe of Euboia want ther gale, and one the contrarye side that the beastes of Naxus have *distentum fel*. Men hope that scollers should have witt brought upp in the Universite; but your sweet selfe, with the cattell of Euboia, since you left your College, have lost your learning. You dispraysse Maximus Tirius pollicey, and that thinge that he wrott to manifest learned Poets mening, you attribute to follye. O holy hedded man! why may not Juno resemble the ayre? why not Alexander valour? why not Vlisses pollice? Will you have all for your owne tothe? must men write that you maye know theyr meaning? as though your wytt were to wrest all things? Alas! simple Irus, begg at knowledge gate awhile, thou haste not wonne the mastery of learning. Weane thy selfe to wisdom, and use thy tallant in zeale not for enuie: abuse not thy knowledge in dispraysing that which is pereles. I shold blush from a Player, to become an enuious Preacher, if thou hadst zeale to preach, if for Sions sake thou coldst not holde thy tongue, thy true dealing were prayse worthy, thy reuolting woulde counsell me to reuerence thee. Pittie weare it, that Poetrye shoulde be displaced; full little could we want Buchanan's workes, and Boetius Comfortes may not be banished. What made Erasmus labor in Euripides tragedies? Did he indeuour by painting them out of Greeke into Latine to manifest sinne unto us? or to confirme vs in goodness? Labor (I pray thee)

in Pamphlelets more prayse worthy: thou haste not saued a Senator, therefore not worthye a Lawrell wreth; thou hast not (in disprouing Poetry) reproued an Abuse, and therefore not worthy commendation.

Seneca sayth, that *Magna vitæ pars elabitur male agentibus, maxima nihil agentibus, tota aliud agentibus*. The most of our life (sayd he) is spent ether in doing euill, or nothing, or that wee should not; and I would wish you weare exempted from the sensure. Geue eare but a little more what may be said for Poetrie, for I mnst be briefe, you have made so greate matter that I may not stay on one thing to long, lest I leaue another vntouched. And first, whereas you say that Tullie, in his yeres of more judgement, despised Poetes, harke (I pray you) what he worketh for them in his Oration *pro Archia poeta*: But before you heare him, least you fayle in the incounter, I would wysh you to followe the aduise of the dasterdlye Ichneumon of Ægipt, who when shee beholdeth the Aspiss her enemye to drawe nighe, calleth her fellowes together, bismering herselfe with claye, agaynst the byting and stroke of the serpent arme your selfe, call your witts together: want not your wepons, lest your imperfect judgement be rewardede with Midas eares. You had neede play the night burd now, for you[r] day Owl hath misconned his parte, and for To who, now a dayes he cryes Foole you: which hath brought such a sort of wondering birds about your eares, as I feare me will chatter you out of your iuey bush. The worlde shames to see you, or els you are afrayde to shew your selfe. You thought Poetrye should want a patron (I think) when you first published this Inuectiue; but yet you fynd al to many euen *preter expectationem*, yea though it can speake for its selfe, yet her patron Tullie now shall tell her tale, *Hæc studia* (sayth he) *adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, aduersis perfugium ac solatium prebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

Then will you dispraise that which all men commend? you looke only upon the refuse of the abuse, nether respecting the importance of the matter, nor the weight of the wryter. Solon can fayne himselfe madde, to further the Athenians. Chaucer in pleasant vain can rebuke sin vncontrold; and though he be lauish in the letter, his sence is serious. Who in Rome lamented not Roscius death? and canst thou suck no plesure out of thy M. Claudian's writings? Hark, what Cellarius, a learned father attributeth to it; *Acuit memoriam*, (saith he), it profiteth the memory. Yea and Tully attributeth it for prais to Archias that upon any theame he cold versify extempory. Who liketh not of the promptnes of Ouid? who not vnworthely cold boast of himself thus, *Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat*. Who then doothe not wonder at Poetry? who thinketh not that it procedeth from aboue? what made the Chians and Colophonians fal to such controuersy? Why seke the Smirnians, to recouer from the Salaminians the prais of Homer? al wold have him to be of ther city: I hope not for harme, but because of his knowledge. Themistocles desireth to be acquainted with those who could best discipher his praises. Euen Marius himselfe, tho never so cruel, accompted of Plotinus poems. What made Aphricanus esteeme Ennius? Why did Alexander giue prais to Achilles but for the prayses which he found written of him by Homer? Why esteemed Pompie so much of Theophanes Mitiletus? or Brutus so greatlye the wrytinges of Accius? Fuluius was so great a fauorer of Poetry, that after the Aetolian warres, he attributed to the Muses those spoiles that belonged to Mars. In all the Romaine conquest, hardest thou euer of a slayne Poete? nay rather the Emperours honored them, beautified them with benefites, and decked their sanctuaries with sacrifice. Pindarus colledg is not fit for spoil of Alexander ouercome, nether feareth Poetry the persecutors sword. What made Austin so much affectate that heauenly fury? not folly, for if I must needes speake, *illud non ausim affirmare*, his

zeale was, in setting up of the house of God, not in affectate eloquence, he wrot not, he accompted not, he honnored not, so much that (famous Poetry) whyche we prayse, without cause, for, if it be true that Horace reporteth, in his booke *de Arte Poetica*, all the answeares of the Oracles weare in verse. Among the precise Jewes, you shall find Poetes, and for more majestie Sibilla will prophesie in verse. Hiroaldus can witnes with me, that Dauid was a poet, and that his vayne was in imitating (as S. Jerom witnesseth) Horace, Flaccus, and Pindarus, sometimes his verse runneth in an Iambus foote, anone he hath recourse to a Saphier vaine, and *aliquando, semipede ingreditur*. Ask Josephus, and he wil tel you that Esay, Job and Salomon, voutsafed poetical practises, for (if Origen and he fault not) theyre verse was Hexameter, and Pentameter. Enquire of Cassiodorus, he will say that all the beginning of Poetrye proceded from the Scripture. Paulinus tho the Byshop of Nolanum yet voutsafe the name of a Poet; and Ambrose tho he be a patriarke in Mediolanum loueth versifing. Beda shameth not the science that shamelesse Gosson misliketh. Reade ouer Lactantius, his prooffe is by poetry; and Paul voutsafeth to ouerlooke Epimenides: let the Apostle preach at Athens he disdaineth not of Aratus authorite. It is a pretye sentence yet not so prety as pithy, *Poeta nascitur, Orator fit*; as who should say, Poetrye commeth from aboue, from a heauenly seate of a glorious God, unto an excellent creature man: an Orator is but made by exercise. For if we examine well what befell Ennius amonge the Romans, and Hesiodus among his contrimen the Grecians, howe they came by theyr knowledge, whence they receued their heauenly furye, the first will tell us that sleping on the Mount of Parnassus he dreamed that he received the soule of Homer into him, after the which he became a Poete. The next will assure you that it commeth not by labor, nether that night watchings bringeth it, but that we must have it thence whence he fetched it, which was, (he

saith), from a well of the Muses which Cabelimus calleth Porum; a draught whereof drewe him to his perfection, so of a shephard he became an eloquent Poet. Wel then you see that it commeth not by exercise of play making, nether insertion of gawds, but from nature, and from aboue: and I hope that Aristotle hath sufficiently taught you, that *Natura nihil fecit frustra*. Perseus was made a poete *Diuino furore percitus*; and whereas the Poets were sayde to call for the Muses helpe, ther mening was no other, as Jodocus Badius reporteth, but to call for heauenly inspiration from aboue to direct theyr endeuors. Nether were it good for you to sette light by the name of a Poet since the oftspring from whence he commeth is so heauenly. Sibilla in her answers to Æneas against hir will, as the poet telleth us, was possessed with thys fury; ye[a], wey consideratly but of the writing of poets, and you shal se that when ther matter is most heauenly, their stile is most loftye, a strange token of the wonderfull efficacy of the same. I would make a long discourse unto you of Platoes 4 furies, but I leave them: it pitieth me to bring a rodd of your owne making to beate you wythal.

But mithinks, while you heare thys, I see you swallowe down your owne spittle for reuenge, where (God wot) my wryting sauoreth not of enuye. In this case I could wyshe you fare farre otherwyse from your foe; yf you please, I wyll become your frende, and see what a potion or recypt I can frame fytt for your diet. And herein I will proue myself a practiser, before I purdge you, you shall take a preparatiue to disburden your heavy hedde of those grose follis you haue conceued: but the receipt is bitter, therefore I would wysh you first to tasten your mouth with the sugar of perseuerance: for ther is a cold collop that must downe your throate, yet such a one as shall chaunge your complection quit. I wyll have you therefore to taste first of that cold riuier Phricus, in Thratia, which, as Aristotle reporteth, changeth blacke into white, or of Scamandar, which maketh

gray yalow, that is of an enuious man a wel minded person, reprehending of zeale that wherein he hath sinned by folly, and so being prepared, thy purgation wyll worke more easy, thy understandinge wyll be more persit, thou shalt blush at thy abuse, and reclaime thy selfe by force of argument, so will thou proue of clene recouered patient, and I a perfecte practiser in framing so good a potion. This broughte to passe I with thee wil seeke out some abuse in Poetry, which I will seeke for to disproue by reason, first pronounced by no small birde, even Aristotle himselfe; *Poetae* (sayth he) *multa mentiuntur*; and to further his opinion sever Cato putteth in his censure: *Admiranda canunt, sed non credenda Poetae*. These were sore blemishes, if objected rightly, and heare you may say the streame runnes a wronge, but if it be so, by you[r] leue, I wyll bring him shortly in his right chanel. My answer shall not be my owne, but a learned Father shall tell my tale; if you will know his name men call him Lactantius, who in hys booke *De Diuinis Institutionibus*, reasoneth thus; I suppose (sayth he) Poets are full of credit, and yet it is requisite for those that will understand them to be admonished, that among them, not onely the name but the matter beareth a show of that it is not; for if, sayth he, we examine the Scriptures litterallye nothing will seeme more falls, and if we waye Poetes wordes and notther meaning, our learning in them wilbe very mene. You see nowe that your Catoes judgement as of no force, and that all your objections you make agaynst Poetrye be of no valor. Yet lest you should be altogether discouraged I wyll helpe you forward a little more: it pities me to consider the weaknes of your cause, I wyll therefore make your strongest reason, more strong, and after I have builded it up destroy it agayn. Poets you confesse are eloquent, but you reprove them in their wantonnesse: they write of no wisdom; you may say their tales are friuolus, they prophane holy thinges, they seeke nothing to the perfection of our soules, theyr practise is in other things, of lesse force:

To this objection I answer no otherwise then Horace doeth in his booke *De Arte Poetica*, where he wryteth thus.

Siluestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
 Sedibus, et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus:
 Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rabidosque leones:
 Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ condit[or] vrbis,
 Saxa mouere sono testudinis, et prece blanda
 Ducere quo vellet: fuit hec sapientia quondam,
 Publica priuatis secernere, sacra prophanis;
 Concubitu prohibere vago; dare jura maritis;
 Oppida moliri; leges inscidere ligno.

The holy spokesman of the Gods
 With heaue[n]ly Orpheus hight,
 Did driue the sauage men from wods,
 And made them liue aright;
 And therefore is sayd the Tygers fierce
 And Lyons full of myght
 To ouercome: Amphion, he
 Was sayd of Theabs the founder,
 Who by his force of lute did cause,
 The stones to part a sonder.
 And by his speach them did drect,
 Where he would have them staye.
 This wisdom this was it of olde
 All strife for to allay;
 To giue to euery man his owne;
 To make the Gods be knowne;
 To drive each lecher from the bed
 That never was his owne;
 To teach the law of mariage;
 The way to build a towne;
 For to engraue these lawes in woods,
 This was these mens renowne.

I cannot leaue Tirtheus pollicy untouched, who by force of his pen could incite men to the defence of theyr countrie. If you require of the Oracle of Apollo what successe you shal haue: *respondet bellicoso numine*.

Lo now you see your objections [and] my answers, you behold or may perceiue manifestlye, that Poetes were the first raysors of cities, prescribers of good lawes, mayntayners of religion, disturbors of the wicked, aduancers of the wel disposed, inuentors of laws, and lastly the very fot-paths to knowledge, and understanding; ye[a], if we shold beleue Herome, he will make Plato's exiles honest men, and his pestiferous poets good preachers: for he accounteth Orpheus, Museus, and Linus, Christians; therefore Virgil (in his 6 boke of *Æneidos* wher he lernedly describeth that journey of *Æneas* to *Elisum*) asserteneth us, that among them that were ther for the zeale they beare toward their country, ther wer found *Quique pii Vates, et Phœbo digna loquti*: but I must answer al objections, I must fil euery nooke. I must arme myself now, for here is the greatest bob I can gather out of your booke, forsoth Ouid's abuses, in descrybing whereof you labour very vehementlye terming him lecher, and in his person dispraise all poems: but shall one man's follye destroye a uniuersal commodity? what gift, what perfit knowledg hath ther bin, emong the professors of which ther hath not bin a bad on[e]; the Angels have sinned in heauen, Adam and Eue in earthly paradise, emong the holy Apostles ungratious Judas. I reson not that al Poets are holy, but I affirme that Poetry is a heauenly gift, a perfit gift, then which I know not greater pleasure. And surely if I may speak my mind I think we shal find but few Poets, if it were exactly wayd, what they oughte to be: your Muscouian straungers, your Scithian monsters wonderful, by one *Eurus* brought upon one stage in ships made of sheepe skins, wyll not proue you a poet, nether your life alow you to bee of that learning. If you had wisely wayed the abuse of poetry, if you had reprehended the

foolish fantasies of our Poets *nomine non re* which they bring forth on stage, my self wold have liked of you and allowed your labor. But I perceiue nowe that all red colloured stones are not Rubies, nether is euery one Alexander that hath a stare in his cheke, al lame men are not Vulcans, nor hooke nosed men Ciceroes, nether each professor a poet. I abhorre those Poets that sauor of ribaldry: I will with the zealous admit the expullcion of such enormities; Poetry is dispraised not for the folly that is in it, but for the abuse whiche manye ill wryters couller by it. Beleeue mee the magistrats may take aduise (as I knowe wisely can) to roote out those odde rymes which runnes in euery rascals mouth. Sauoring of rybaldry, those foolishe ballets, that are admitted, make poets good and godly practises to be refused. I like not of a wicked Nero that wyll expell Lucan, yet admit I of a zealous gouernour that wil seke to take away the abuse of poetry. I like not of an angrie Augustus which wyll banishe Ouid for enuy. I love a wise Senator, which in wisdom wyll correct him, and with aduise burne his follyes: unhappy were we yf like poore Scaurus we shoulde find Tiberius that wyll put us to death for a tragedy making; but most blessed were we, if we might find a iudge that seuerely would amende the abuses of Tragedies. But I leaue the reformation thereof to more wyser than myselfe, And retourne to Gosson whom I wyshe to be fully perswaded in this cause, and therefore I will tell hym a pretty story, which Justin wryteth in the prayse of Poetrye.

The Lacedemonians, when they had loste many men in diuers incountrys with theyr enemyes, soughte to the Oracles of Apollo requiring how they myght recouer theyr losses? It was answered, that they mighte ouercome if so be that they could get an Athenian gouernor: Whereupon they sent Orators unto the Athenians, humbly requesting them that they woulde appoynt them out one of theyr best captaynes: the Athenians owinge them old malice, sent them,

in steede of a *soldado vechio*, a scholar of the Muses, in steede of a worthy warrior a poore poet, for a courageous Themistocles a silly Tirthetus, a man of great eloquence and singular wytte, yet was he but a lame lymde captaine, more fit for the coche then the field. The Lacedemonians trusting the Oracle, receued the champion, and fearing the gouernment of a stranger, made him ther Citizen; which once done and he obtaining the Dukdome he assended the theater, and ther very learnedly wysching them to forget theyr folly, and to thinke on victory: they being ac[t]uate by his eloquence, waging battail won the field.

Lo now you see that the framing of common welthes, and defence therof, proceedeth from Poets, how dare you therfore open your mouth against them? how can you dispraise the preseruer of a countrie? you compare Homer to Methesus, cookes to poetes, you shame your selfe in your unreuerent similituds, you may see your follyes, *verbum sapienti sat*. Where as Homer was an ancient poet, you disalow him, and accompte of those of lesser judgement. Strabo calleth Poetry, *primam sapientiam*. Cicero, in his firste of hys Tusculans, attributeth the inuencion of Philosophy to Poets. God keepe us from a Plato that should expel such men; pittie were it that the memory of these valiant victours shoulde be hidden, whiche haue dyed in the behalfe of ther countryes. Miserable were our state yf we wanted those worthy volumes of Poetry: could the learned beare the losse of Homer? or our younglings the wrytings of Mantuan? or you your volumes of Historyes? Belieue me, yf you had wanted your Mysteries of nature, and your stately storyes, your booke would have scarce bene fedde wyth matter. If therefore you will deale in things of wisdome, correct the abuse, honor the science, renewe your schoole; crye out ouer Hierusalem wyth the Prophet the woe that he pronounced; wish the teacher to reforme hys lyfe, that his weake scholler may proue the wyser; cry out against unsaciabie desyre in

rich men, tel the house of Jacob theyr iniquities, lament with the Apostle the want of laborers in the Lords vineyards, cry out on those dume dogges that will not barke; wyll the mightye that they ouer mayster not the poore, and put downe the beggars prowde heart by thy perswasions. Thunder oute wyth the Prophete Micha the mesage of the LORD, and wyth him desyre the Judges to heare thee, the Prynces of Jacob to hearken to thee, and those of the house of Israell to understande; then tell them that they abhorre judgement, and prevent equitie, that they judge for rewardes, and that theyr priests teach for hyre, and the prophets thereof prophesie for money, and yet that they saye the Lorde is wyth them, and that no euil can befall them: breath out the sweete promises to the good, the curses to the badde, tell them that a peace muste needes haue a warre, and that God can rayse up another Zenacharib; shew them that Salamons kingdome was but for a season, and that aduersitie cometh ere we espye it. These be the songes of Sion, these be those rebukes which you oughte to add to Abuses; recouer the body, for it is sore, the appe[n]dices thereof will easily be reformed, if that we ar at a staye.

But other matter call me and I must not staye upon this only; there is an easier task in hand for me, and that which if I may speak my conscience, fitteth my vain best, your Second Abuse GOSSON, your Second Abuse, your disprayses of Music, which you unadvisedly terme Pyping: that is it wyll most byte you, what so is a ouerstay of life, is displeasent to your person: Musik may not stand in your presence, whereas all the learned Philosophers haue alwayes had it in reuerence. Homer commendeth it highly, referring to the prayses of the Gods whiche Gosson accompteth folishnesse: Looke uppon the harmonie of the Heauens? hange they not by Musike? doe not the spheares moue? the *primus motor* gouerne. Be not they *inferiora corpora* affected *quadam sympathia* and agreement? Howe can we measure the debilitie of the patient

but by the disordered motion of the pulse? is not man worse accompted of when he is most out of tune? is there any thing that more affecteth the sence? doth there any pleasure more acuat our understanding? Can the wonders that hath wroughte and which you yourselfe confesse no more moue you? it fitteth well nowe that the learned haue sayd, *musica requirit generosum animum*, which since it is far from you, no maruel though you fauor not that profession. It is reported of the Cameliion that shee can chaunge her selfe unto all coollors saue whyte, and you can accompte of all thinges saue such as haue honesty. Plutarch your good Mayster may bare me witnes, that the end whereto Musick was, will prooue it prayes worthy, O Lorde! howe maketh it a man to remember heauenly things, to wonder at the works of the Creator. Eloquence can stay the souldiars sworde from slayinge an Orator, and shall not Musike be magnified which not onely saueth the bodye but is a comfort to the soule? Dauid reioyseth, singeth, and prayseth the Lorde by the Harpe, the Simbale is not remoued from his sanctuary, the Aungels syng *Gloria in excelsis*. Surely the imagination in this present instant, calleth me to a deepe consideration of my God. Looke for wonders where Musicke worketh, and where Harmonie, is ther foloweth incredible delectation: the bowels of the earth yeld, where the instrument soundeth, and Pluto cannot keepe Proserpina if Orpheus recorde. The Seas shall not swallowe Arion whilst he singeth, nether shall hee perish while he harpeth, a doleful tuner yf a diing musition can moue a monster of the Sea, to mourne, a Dolphin respecteth a heauenlye recorde: Call your self home therefore and reclayme thys follye, it is to foule to bee admitted, you may not mayntaine it.

I hadd well hoped you woulde in all these thynges haue wiselye admytted the thyng, and disalowе naughte but the abuse; but I see your mynde in your wrytinge was to penn somewhat, you knowe not what, and to confyrme

it I wot not howe; so that your selfe hath hatched us
 an Egge yet so that it hath blest us wyth a monsterus
 chickin both wythoute hedde, and also taylor, lyke the
 Father, full of imperfection and lesse zeal. Well marke
 yet a lyttle more, beare with me though I be bytter, my loue
 is neuer the lesse for that I haue learned of Tullye, that
Nulla remedia tam faciunt dolorem, quam quæ sunt salutaria,
 the sharper medycine the better it cures, the more you see
 your follye, the sooner may you amende it. Are not the
 straines in Musike to tickle and delyght the eare? are not
 our warlike instruments to moue men to valor? you confesse
 they mooue us, but yet they delight not our eares, I pray
 you whence grew that poynt of Philosophy? it is more then
 euer my Mayster taught mee, that a thyng of sounde should
 not delyghte the eare. Belyke yee suppose that men are mon-
 sters, without eares, or else I thynke you will saye they heare
 with their heeles: it may bee so, for indeede when we are
 delighted with Musike, it maketh our heart to scypp for
 joye, and it maye bee perhaps by assending from the heele
 to the hygher partes, it may moue us. Good policie in sooth,
 this was of your owne coyning your mother neuer taught it
 you: but I wyll not deale by reason of philosophye wyth you
 for that confound your sences, but I can assure you this one
 thinge, that this principle will make the wiser to mislike your
 inuention. It had bene a fitter jest for your howlet in your
 Playe, then an ornament in your booke: but since you wrote
 of Abuses we may licence you to lye a little, so the abuse will
 be more manifest. Lord, with how goodly a cote haue you
 clothed your conceiptes, you abound in storyes but imperti-
 nent, they bewray your reeding but not your wisdom; would
 God they had bin well aplyed. But now I must play the
 Musitian right nolesse buggs now come in place but pauions
 and mesures, dumps and fancies; and here growes a great
 question, What musick Homer used in curing the diseased
 Gretians? It was no dump you say, and so think I, for that is

not apliable to sick men, for it fauoreth Malancholie. I am sure, it was no mesure, for in those days they were not such good dansers; for soth then what was it? If you require me, if you name me the instrument, I wyl tel you what was the musik. Mean while a God's name, let us both dout, that it is no part of our saluation to know what it was, nor how it went? when I speak wyth Homer next, you shall knowe his answere.

But you can not be content to erre, but you must main-
tain it to. Pithagoras, you say, alowes not that Musik is
decerned by eares, but hee wisheth us to assend unto the
sky, and marke that harmony. Surely thys is but one doctors
opinion (yet I dislike not of it) but to speake my conscience,
mythinkes Musike best pleaseth me when I heare it, for other-
wise the catterwalling of Cats, were it not for harmonie,
should more delight mine eies than the tunable voyces of men.
But these things are not the chiefest poynts you shote at,
thers somewhat els sticking in your stomak, God graunt it
hurt you not! From the daunce you runn to the pype, from 7.
to 3. which if I shoulde add I beleue I could wrest out half
a score inconueniences more out of your booke: Our pleasant
consortes do discomfort you much, and because you lyke not
thereof, they are discomendable. I haue heard it is good to
take sure fotinge when we trauel unknowen cuntryes; for
when we wade aboue our shoe latchet, Appelles wyl repre-
hende us for coblers; if you had bene a father in Musick and
could have decerned of tunes I would perhaps have likt
your opinion sumwhat where now I abhor it; if you wear a
professor of that practice I would quickly perswade you that
the adding of strings to our instrument make the sound more
harmonious, and that the mixture of Musike maketh a better
concent. But to preach to unskillfull is to perswad the brut
beastes. I wyl not stand long in thys point although the dig-
nitye thereof require a volume, but howe learned men haue
esteemed this heauenly gift, if you please to read you shall

see. Socrates in hys old age will not disdain to learn the science of Musik among children, he can abide their corrections to, so much accounted he that which you contemn, so profitable thought he that which you dislik. Solon wil esteme so much of the knowledg of singing, that he will soner forget to dye then to sing. Pithagoras likes it so wel that he will place it in Greace; and Aristoxenus will saye that the Soule is musik. Plato (in his booke *De Legibus*) will affirme, that it can not be handled without all sciences; the Lacedemonians and Creten-sis wer sturred to warre by Anapestus foote; and Timotheus with the same incensed kinge Alexander to batel, ye[a] yf Boetyus fitten not, on Tauromitanus (by this Phrigian sound) hastened to burn a house wher a strumpet was hidden: so litle abideth this heauenly harmony our humane filthines, that it worketh wonders, as you may perceue most manifestly by the history of Agamemnon, who going to the Trojan war, left at home a musitian that playde the Dorian tune, who with the foote *Spondeus* preserued his wife Clitemnestra in chastity and honesty, wherfore she cold not bee deflowred by Ægistus, before he had wickedly slain the musitian. So that as the magnetes draweth iorne, and the Theamides (which groweth in Ægypt) driueth it away, so Musik calleth to itselfe all honest plesures, and dispelleth from it all vaine misdemanors. The matter is so plentiful that I cannot find wher to end, as for beginnings they be infinite, but these shall suffice, I like not to long circumstances wher les doe serue, only I wish you to accompt wel of this heauenly concent, which is ful of perfection proceeding from aboue, drawing his original from the motion of the stars, from the agrement of the planets, fro the whisteling winds, and from al those celestial circles, where is ether perfit agreement or any *Sumphonia*.

But as I like Musik, so admit I not of thos that deprauē the same: your Pipers are so odious to mee as yourselfe, nether alowe I your harpinge merye beggars; although I knewe you my selfe a professed play maker, and a paltry

actor, since which the windmil of your wit hath bin tornd so long wyth the wynde of folly, that I feare me we shall see the dogg returne to his vomit, and the clensed sow to her myre, and the reformed scholemayster to hys old teaching of follye. Beware it be not so, let not your booke be a blemish to your own profession. Correct not Musik therefore when it is praiseworthy, lest your worthlesse misliking bewray your madnes; way the abuse and that is matter sufficient to serue a magistrates animaduersion.

Heere may you aduise well, and if you have any stale rethorik flourish upon thys text, the Abuse is, when that is applyed to wantonnesse, which was created to shewe Gods worthinesse. When the shamefull resorts of shameles curtezanes, in sinful sonnets, shall prophane vertue, these are no light sinnes, these make many good men lament, this causeth parents hate there right borne children: if this were reformed by your policie I should esteme of you as you wysh. I feare me it fareth far other wyse, *latet anguis in herba*, under your fare show of conscience take heede you cloake not your abuse; it were pittie the learned should be ouerseene in your simplenesse. I feare me you will be politick with Machavel, not zealous as a prophet. Well I will not stay long upon the Abuse, for that I see it is to manifest, the remembraunce thereof is discommendable among the godly, and I myself am very loth to bring it in memory. To the wise aduised Reader these mai suffice, to flee the Crocodel before hee commeth, lest we be bitten, and to auoyde the abuse of Musik, since we se it, lest our misery be more, when we fall into folly. *Ictus piscator sapet*, you heare open confession, these Abuses are disclaimed by our Gosson, he is sory that hee hath so leudlye liued, and spent the oyle of his perfection in unsauery lampes; he hath Argus eyes to watch him now, I would wish him beware of his Islington, and such like resorts: if now he retourne from his repented lyfe to his old folly, Lord, how foule will be his

fall! Men know more then they speak if they be wise, I feare me some will blushe that readeth this, if he be bitten. Would God, Gosson at this instant might haue a watchman, but I see it were needelesse, perhaps he hath *Os durum*, and then what auayleth their presence.

Well, I leaue this poynt til I know further of your mynde, mean while I must talke a little with you about the Thyrd Abuse, for the cater cosens of Pypers, theyr names (as you terme them) be Players, and I thinke as you doe, for your experience is sufficient to enforme me; but here I must loke about me, *quacunq; te tigeris vlcus est*: here is a task that requireth a long treatis, and what my opinion is of Players ye now shall plainly perceue. I must now search my wits, I see this shall passe throughe many seuerer sensors handling, I must aduise me what I write, and write that I would wysh. I way wel the seriousnes of the cause, and regarde very much the iudges of my endeour, whom if I could I would perswade, that I would not nourish abuse, nether mayntaine that which be an universall discomoditie. I hope they wil not iudge before they read, nether condemne without occasion. The wisest will alwaies carry to eares, in that they are to dis[c]erne two indifferent causes. I meane not to hold you in suspence (seuerer Judges) if you gredely expect my verdit brefely this it is.

Demosthines thought not that Phillip shoulde ouercome when he reprobued hym, nether feared Cicero Anthonies force, when in the Senate he rebuked hym. To the ignorant ech thinge that is unknowne semes unprofitable, but a wise man can forsee and prayse by prooffe. Pythagoras could spy oute in women's eyes two kind of teares, the one of greffe the other of disceit; and those of iudgement can from the same flower suck honey with the bee, from whence the spyder (I mean the ignorant) take their poison. Men that haue knowledge what Comedies and Tragedis be, wil comend them, but it is sufferable in the folish to reprobue that they know not,

becaus ther mouthes will hardly be stopped. Firste therfore, if it be not tedious to GOSSON to harken to the lerned, the Reder shal perceiue the antiquity of Play-making, the inuentors of Comedies, and therewithall the use and comoditye of them. So that in the end I hope my labor shall be liked, and the learned wil soner conceue his folly. For Tragedies and Comedies, Donate the gramarian sayth, they wer inuented by lerned Fathers of the old time to no other purpose, but to yeelde prayse unto God for a happy haruest, or plentiful yeere. And that thys is trewe, the name of Tragedye doth importe, for if you consider whence it came, you shall perceiue (as Jodocus Badius reporteth) that it drewe his original of *Tragos*, *Hircus*, et *Ode*, *Cantus*, (so called) for that the actors thereof had in rewarde for theyr labour, a gotes skynne fylled wyth wyne. You see then that the fyrste matter of Tragedies was to give thankes and prayses to GOD, and a gratefull prayer of the countrymen for a happye haruest, And this I hope was not discommendable, I knowe you will judge is farthest from abuse. But to wade farther, thys fourme of inuention being found out, as the dayes wherein it was used did decay, and the world grew to more perfection, so the witt of the younger sorte became more riper, for they leauing this fourme, inuented an other, in the which they altered the nature but not the name; for, for sonnets in prayse of the gods, they did set forth the sower fortune of many exiles, the miserable fal of haples princes, the ruinous decay of many coutryes; yet not content with this, they presented the liues of Satyers. So that they might wiselye under the abuse of that name, discouer the follies of many theyr folish fellow citesens. And those monsters were then, as our parasites are now adayes: suche, as with pleasure reprehended abuse. As for Commedies, because they bear a more plesanter vain, I will leaue the other to speake of them. Tulley defines them thus, *Comedia* (saith he) is *imitatio vitæ, speculum consuetudinis, et imago veritatis*; and

it is sayde to be termed of *Comai*, (amongste the Greekes) which signifieth *Pagos*, and *Ode*, *Cantus*; for that they were exercised in the fiede, they had their beginning with tragedies, but their matter was more plessaunt, for they were suche as did reprehend, yet *quodam lepore*. These first very rudly were inuented by Susarion Bullus, and Magnes, to auncient poets, yet so, that they were meruelous profitable to the reclamyng of abuse; whereupon Eupolis with Cratinus, and Aristophanes, began to write, and with ther eloquenter vaine and perfection of stil, dyd more seuerely speak agaynst the abuses then they: which Horace himselfe witnesseth: nor, sayth he, ther was no abuse but these men reprehended it; a thefe was loth to be seene one there spectacle, a coward was neuer present at theyr assemblies, a backbiter abhord that company, and I my selfe could not haue blamed your (Gosson) for exempting your selfe from this theater; of troth I shoulde have lykt your pollicy. These therefore, these wer they that kept men in awe, these restrayned the unbridled cominaltie, whereupon Horace wisely sayeth.

Oderunt peccare boni, virtutis amore :

Oderunt peccare mali, formidine poenae.

The good did hate al sinne for vertues loue :

The bad for feare of shame did sin remoue.

Yea would God our realme could light vppon a Lucillius, then should the wicked bee poynted out from the good, a harlot woulde seeke no harbor at stage plais, lest she shold here her owne name growe in question: and the discourse of her honesty cause her to bee hated of the godly. As for you, I am sure of this one thing, he would paint you in your players ornaments, for they best becam you. But as these sharpe corrections were disanulde in Rome when they grewe to more licenciousnes; so I fear me if we shold practise it in

our dayes, the same intertainmente would followe. But in ill reformed Rome what Comedies now? A poet's wit can correct, yet not offend. Philemon will mitigate the corrections of sinne, by reprobuing them couertly in shadowes, Menandar dare not offend the Senate openly, yet wants he not a parasite to touch them priuely. Terence wyl report the abuse of harlots under there proper stile, but he can finely girde them under the person of Thais. Hee dare not openly tell the rich of theyr couetousnesse and seuerity towards their children, but he can controle them under the person of Durus Demeas. He must not shew the abuse of noble yong gentilmen under theyr owne title, but he wyl warne them in the person of Pamphilus. Will you learne to knowe a parasite? Looke upon his Dauus. Wyl you seke the abuse of courtly flatterers? Behold Gnato. And if we had some Satericall Poetes nowe a dayes to penn our Comedies, that might be admitted of zeale, to discypher the abuses of the worlde in the person of notorious offenders, I knowe we should wisely ryd our assemblyes of many of your brotherhod.

But because you may haue a full scope to reprehende, I will rip up a rablement of Play makers, whose wrightinges I would wishe you ouerlooke, and seeke out theyr abuses. Can you mislike of Cecillius? or dispise Plinius? or amend Neuius? or find fault with Licinius? Wherein offended Actilius? I am sure you can not but wonder at Terrence? Will it please you to like of Turpelius? or alow of Trabea? You muste needs make much of Ennius: for ouerloke al these, and you shal find ther volumes ful of wit if you examin them; so that if you had no other masters, you might deserue to be a Doctor, wher now you are but a folishe Scholemaister: But I wyl deale wyth you very freendlye, I wil resolue eueri doubt that you find, those instruments which you mislike in playes grow of auncient custome, for when Rossius was an Actor, be sure that as with his teares he moued affections, so the Musitian

in the Theater before the entrance, did mornefully record it in melody (as Seruius reporteth). The actors in Rome had also gay clothing and euery mans aparel was apliable to his part and person. The old men in white, the rich men in purple, the parasite disguisedly, the yong men in gorgeous coulours, ther wanted no deuise nor good judgement of the Comedy, where I suppose our Players, both drew ther plaies and fourme of garments. As for the appointed dayes wherin Comedies were shoven, I reede that the Romaynes appoynted them on the festiual dayes in such reputation were they had at that time. Also Jodocus Badius will asassertain you that the actors for shewing pleasure receued some profite. But let me apply those dayes to ours, their actors to our players, their autors to ours. Surely we want not a Rossius, nether ar ther great scarsity of Terrence's profession, but yet our men dare not nowe a dayes presume so much as the old Poets might, and therfore they apply ther writing to the peoples vain wheras, if in the beginning they had ruled, we should now adaies have found smal spectacles of folly. But (of truth) I must confess with Aristotle, that men are greatly delighted with imitation, and that it were good to bring those things on stage, that were altogether tending to vertue: all this I admit, and hartely wysh, but you say unlesse the thinge be taken away the vice will continue: Nay, I say, if the style were changed the practise would profit, and sure I thinke our theaters fit, that Ennius seeing our wanton Glicerium may rebuke her. If our Poetes will now become seuere, and for prophane things write of vertue, you I hope shoulde see a reformed state in those thinges; which I feare me yf they were not, the idle hedded commones would worke more mischief. I wish as zealously as the best that all abuse of Playinge weare abolished, but for the thing, the antiquitie causeth me to allow it, so it be used as it should be. I cannot allow the prophaning of the Sabaoth. I praise your reprehension in that, you did well in discommending the

Abuse, and surely I wysh that that folly wer disclaymed, it is not to be admitted, it maks those sinne, which perhaps if it were not, would have binne present at a good sermon. It is in the Magistrate to take away that order, and appoynt it otherwyse. But sure it were pittie to abolish that which hath so great vertue in it, because it is abused. The Germanes, when the use of preaching was forbidden them, what helpe had they I pray you? Forsoth the learned were fayne couertly in Comedies to declare abuses, and by playing to incite the people to vertues, when they might heare no preaching. Those were lamentable dayes, you will say, and so thinke I, but was not this I pray you a good help in reforming the decaying Gospel? You see then how Comedies (my seuere Judges) are requesit both for ther antiquity, and for ther commoditie, for the dignity of the wrighters, and the pleasure of the hearers. But after your discrediting of Playmaking, you salue uppon the sore somewhat, and among many wise workes there be some that fitte your vaine: the practice of parasites is one, which I meruel it likes you so well, since it bites you so sore. But sure in that I like your judgement, and for the rest to, I approue your wit, but for the pigg of your owne sow, (as you terme it) assuredly I must discommend your verdit: Tell me Gosson was all your owne you wrote there? did you borow nothing of your neyghbours? Out of what booke patched you out Cicero's Oration? Whence fet you Catulin's Inuectiue. Thys is one thing, *alienam olet lucernam, non tuam*; so that your helper may wisely reply upon you with Virgil:

Hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honores.

I made these verses, others bear the name.

Beleue me I should preferr Wilson's. Shorte and sweete if I were judge, a peece surely worthy prayse, the practice of a good scholler; would the wiser would ouerlooke that, they

may perhaps cull some wisdom out of a player's toy. Well, as it is wisdom to commend where the cause requireth, so it is a poynt of folly to praise without deserte. You dislike Players very much, theyr dealings be not for your commodity. Whom if I myghte aduise, they should learne thys of Juuenal.

Viuendum est recte, cum propter plurima, tum his
Praecipue causis, vt linguas mancipiorum
Contemnas. Nam lingua mali pars pessima serui.

We ought to leade our liues aright,
For many causes moue.
Especially for this same cause,
Wisdom doth us behoue,
That we may set at nought those blames,
Which seruants to us lay,
For why, the tongue of euell slaue
Is worst, as wisemen euer say.

Methinks I heare some of them verifing these verses upon you; if it be so that I hear them, I will concele it; as for the statute of apparrell and the abuses therof, I see it manifestly broken, and if I should seeke for example, you cannot but offend my eyes. For if you examine the statuts exactly, a simple cote should be fitted to your backe. We bereue you of your brauerye, and examine your auncestry, and by profession in respect of that statute, we should find you cater cosens with a, (but hush) you know my meaning: I must for pitie fauor your credit in that you weare once a scholler.

You runne farther to Carders, Dicers, Fencers, Bowlers, Daunsers, and Tomblers, whose Abuses I wold rebuke with you, had not yourself moued other matters. But to eche I say thus, for Dicing, I wyshe those that know

it not, to leaue to learn it, and let the fall of others make them wiser. Yf they had an Alexander to gouern they shold be punished, and I could wish them not to abuse the lenitie of their Prince. Cicero for a great blemish reputeth that which our gentilmen use for brauery, but *sufficit ista leniter attigisse*. A word against Fencers, and so an end: whom I wysh to beware with Demonax, lest admitting theyr fencing delightes, they destroy (with the Athenians) the alters of peace, by raysing quarrellous causes, they worke uprores: but you and I reprove them in Abuse, yet I (for my part) cannot but allow the practice so it be well used; as for the filling of our gracious princes cofers with pence, as it pertaineth not to me, because I am none of her receiuors, so men think unlesse it hath bine lately you haue not bene of her Maiesties counsel. But now here as you begin folishly, so surely you end unlernedly. Prefer you warre before peace? the sword before the goun? the rule of a Tyrant before the happy days of our gracious Queen? You know the Philosophers are against you, yet dare you stand in handy grips wyth Cicero: you know that force is but an instrument when counsell fayleth, and if wisdom win not, farewell warre. Aske Alphonsus what counsellors be lyketh of? hee will say, his bookes; and hath not I pray you pollicy alwaies ouer-mastered force? Who subdued Hanibal in his great royalty? He that durst knock at Rome gates to haue them opened is nowe become a pray to a sylly senator. Appius Claudius *et senex et caecus*, a father full of wisdom can releue the state of decaying Rome. And was it force that subded Marius? or armes that discovered Catulin's conspiracies? Was it rash reuendg in punishing Cethegus? or want of witt in the discoverye of treason? Cato can correct himselfe for traueilling by sea, when the land profereth passage, or to be fole hardy in ouermuch hazard. Aristotle accompteth counsell holye, and Socrates can terme it the key of certentye. What shal we count of war but wrath, of battel but hastines, and if I

did rule (with Augustus Caesar) I woulde refuse these coun-
 selers. What made the oracle I praye you accompt of Cal-
 chas so much? Was it not for his wisdom? Who doth
 not like of the gouerner that had rather meete with *Vnum*
Nestorem then *decem Ajaces*? You cannot tame a Lyon
 but in tyme, neither a Tigres in few dayes. Counsell in
 Regulus will, preferring the liberty of his country before
 his lyfe, not remit the deliuey of Carthaginian captiues.
 Hannibal shall flesh himselfe on an olde man's carkas, whose
 wisdom preserued his citye. Adrian with letters can
 gouerne hys legions, and rule peasablye his prouinces by
 polecye. Aske Silius Italicus what Peace is? and he will say,

Pax optima rerum,
 Quas homini nouisse datum est: pax una triumphis
 Innumeris potior: pax, custodire salutem
 Et ciues æquare potens.

No better thing to man did nature
 Ever giue then peace,
 Then which to know no greater ioy
 Can come to our encrease:
 To foster peace is stay of health,
 And keepes the land in ease.

Take counsell of Ouid, what sayth he?

Candida pax homines, trux decet atra feras.
 To men doth heauenly peace pertaine,
 And currish anger fitteth brutish vaine.

Well as I wish it to haue continuance, so I praye God
 wyth the Prophet it be not abused, and because I think my
 self to haue sufficiently answered that I supposed, I conclude
 wyth this: God preserue our peaceable Princes, and confound
 her enemies: God enlarge her wisdom, that like Saba she
 may seeke after a Salomon: God confounde the imaginations
 of her enemies, and perfit his graces in her, that the

daies of her rule may be continued in the bonds of peace,
that the house of the chosen Isralites may be mayn-
teyned in happinesse: Lastly, I frendly bid
Gosson farwell, wysHINGE him to
temper his penn with more
discretion.

FINIS.

AN

Alarum against Vsurers.

Containing tryed experien-
ces against worldly
abuses. .

Wherein Gentlemen
may finde good counsells to confirme them,
and pleasant Histories to delight them :
and euey thing so interlaced with
varietie : as the curious may be sa-
tisfied with rarenesse, and the
curteous with plea-
sure.

Heerevnto are an-
nexed the delectable historie of Forbo-
nius and Prisceria : with the lamen-
table Complaint of Truth o-
uer England, Written by Tho-
mas Lodge, of Lincolnes
Inne, Gentleman.

O Vita ! misero longa, fælici breuis.

* *
*

Imprinted at London by
T. Este, for Sampson Clarke, and are
to be sold at his shop by Guyld Hall.

1584.

*To the Right worshipfull, Sir Philip Sidne Knight,
indued with all perfections of learning, and
titles of Nobilitie: Thomas Lodge, Gen.
wisheth continuance of honour, and
the benefits of happie Studie.*

It is not (noble Gentleman) the titles of Honour that allureth me, nor the nobilitie of your Parents that induceth me, but the admiration of your vertues that perswadeth me, to publish my pore travailes under your undoubted protection. Whom I most humbly intreate, not onely in so just a cause to protect me, but also in these Primordia of my studies, after the accustomed prudence of the Philosophers, to confirme with favourable acceptaunce, and continuaunce, as the equitie of the cause requireth. I have set downe in these fewe lines in my opinion (Right Worshipfull) the image of a licentius Usurer, and the collusions of divelish incrochers, and heereunto was I led by two reasons: First, that the offender, seeing his owne counterfaite in this Mirrour, might amend it, and those who are like, by overlavish profusenesse, to become meate for their mouths, might be warned by this caveat to shunne the Scorpion ere she devoureth.

May it please your Worshippe to favour my travailes, and to accept my good will; who encourageth by the successe of this my firstlings, will heereafter in most humble signe of humanitie continue the purpose I have begunne, commending the cause and my service to your good liking: who, no doubt compassed with incomperable vertues, will commend when you see occasion, and not condemne without a cause.

Yours Worships in all dutie to commaund,

Thomas Lodge,

To the Right worshipfull, my curteous friends, the
Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, Thomas
Lodge, of Lincolnes Inne, Gentleman,
wisheth prosperous successe in
their studies, and happie
event in their travailes.

Curteous Gentlemen, let it not seeme straunge unto you, that hee which hath long time slept in silence, now beginneth publicly to salute you, since no doubt, my reasons that induce me hereunto be such, as both you may allowe of them, since they be well meant, and account of them, since they tend to your profit. I have published heere of set purpose a tried experience of worldly abuses, describing heerein not onely those monsters which were banished *Athens*, I meane Usurers, but also such devouring caterpillers, who not onely have fatted their fingers with many rich forfeitures, but also spread their venim among some private Gentlemen of your profession; which considered, I thought good in opening the wound to prevent an uleer, and by counselling before escape, forewarn before the mischief. Led then by these perswasions, I doubt not, but as I have alwayes found you favourable, so now you will not cease to be friendly, both in protecting of this just cause from unjust slander, and my person from that reproch which, about two yeares since, an injurious caviller objected against me: you that knowe me, Gentlemen, can testifie that neyther my life hath bene so lewd, as that my companie was odious, nor my behaviour so light, as that it shuld passe the limits of modestie: this notwithstanding, a licentious *Hipponax*, neither regarding the asperitie of the lawes touching slaunderous Libellers, nor the offspring from

whence I came, which is not contemptible, attempted, not only in publike and reprochfull terms to condemn me in his writings, but also so to slander me, as neither justice shuld wink at so hainous an offence, nor I pretermit a commodious reply. About three yeres ago, one *Stephen Gosson* published a booke, intituled *The Schoole of Abuse*, in which having escaped in many and sundry conclusions, I, as the occasion then fitted me, shapt him such an answeare as beseemed his discourse; which by reason of the slendernes of the subject, (because it was in defence of plaies and play makers) the godly and reverent that had to deale in the cause, misliking it, forbad the publishing: notwithstanding he, comming by a private unperfect coppye, about two yeres since made a reply, dividing it into five sections, and in his Epistle dedicatory, to the right honorable, Sir *Frances Walsingham*, he impugneeth me with these reproches, that I am become a vagarant person, visited by the hevy hand of God, lighter then libertie, and looser then vanitie. At such time as I first came to the sight heerof, (judge you gentlemen how hardly I could disgest it) I bethought my selfe to frame an answeare, but considering that the labour was but lost, I gave way to my misfortune, contenting my selfe to waite that opportunitie wherein I might, not according to the impertinacie of the injurie, but as equitye might countenance mee, cast a raine over the untamed curtailes chaps, and wiping out the suspition of this slander from the remembrance of those that knew me, not counsell this injurious *Asinius* to become more conformable to his reportes. And now, Gentlemen, having occasion to passe my travailes in publike, I thought it not amisse somewhat to touch the slaunder, and proving it to be most wicked and discommendable, leave the rest to the discretion of those in authoritie; who, if the Gentleman had not plaid bo peep thus long, would have taught him to have counted his cards a little better. And now, *Stephen Gosson*, let me but familiarly reason with thee thus. Thinkest thou that

in handling a good cause it is requisite to induce a fals proposition? although thou wilt say it is a part of Rethorike to argue *A Persona*, yet it is a practise of small honestie to conclude without occasion: if thy cause wer good, I doubt not but in so large and ample a discourse as thou hadst to handle, thou mightest had left the honor of a gentleman inviolate. But thy base degree, subject to servile attempts, measureth all things according to cavelling capacitie, thinking because nature hath bestowed upon thee a plausible discourse, thou maist in thy sweet termes present the sowrest and falsest reports thou canst imagine: but it may be, that as it fortun'd to the noble man of *Italy*, it now fareth with me, who as *Pet[r]arch* reported, given greatly to the intertainment of strangers and pleasure of the chase, respected not the brave and gorgious garments of a courtier, but delighted in such clothing as seemed the place where he sojourn'd. This noble gentleman returning on a time from his game, found all his house furnished with strangers, on whom bestowing his accustomed welcome, he bent himself to the overseeing of his domestical preparation, and comming to the stable among the hors keepers of his new come guests, and reprehending one of them for faulting in his office, the fellow, impatient of reproofe, and measuring the gentleman by his plaine coat, stroke him on the face, and turned him out of the stable; but afterward attending on his master, and perceiving him whom he had stroken to be the Lord of the house, he humbly craved pardon: the gentleman, as patient as pleasant, not only forgave him the escape, but pretely answered thus:—I blame not thee, good fellow, for thy outrage, but this companion, pointing to his coate, which hath made thee mistake my person. So at this instant esteeme I *M. Gosson* hath dealt with me, who not mesuring me by my birth, but by the subject I handled, like Will Summer striking him that stood next him, hath upbraided me in person, when he had no quarrell but to my cause, and therein pleaded his owne in-

discretion, and loded me with intollerable injurie. But if with *Zo[i]lus* hee might kisse the gibet, or with *Patacion* hop headlesse, the world shoulde bee ridde of an injurious slaunderer, and that tongue, laboured in suppositions, might be nailed up, as *Tullies* was, for his *Philippicall* declamations. But good *Stephen*, in like sorte will I deale with thee, as *Philip of Macedon* with *Nicanor*; who not respecting the majestie of the king, and giving himselfe over to the petulancie of his tongue, vainly inveighed against him, whom, notwithstanding, *Philip* so cunningly handeled, that not onely he ceased the rumor of his report, but also made him as lavish in commending, as once he was profuse in discommending. His attempt was thus performed: he seeing *Nicanor* sorely pressed with poverty, releevd him to his content; whereupon, altering his coppie, and breaking out into singular commendation of *Philip*, the king concluded thus: Loe! curtesie can make of bad good, and of *Nicanor* an enimie, *Nicanor* a friend. Whose actions, my reprovder, I will now fit to thee, who having slaundered me without cause, I will no otherwise revenge it, but by this meanes, that now in publike I confesse thou hast a good pen, and if thou keepe thy Methode in discourse, and leave thy slander- ing without cause, there is no doubt but thou shalt bee commended for thy coppie, and praised for thy stile. And thus desiring thee to measure thy reportes with justice, and you, good Gentlemen, to answeere in my behalfe if you heare me reproched, I leave you to your pleasures, and for my selfe I will studie your profit.

Your loving friend,

Thomas Lodge.

Barnabe Rich, Gentleman Souldier, in praise of the
Author.

If that which warnes the young beware of vice,
And schooles the olde to shunne unlawfull gaine,
If pleasant stile and method may suffice,
I thinke thy travaile merits thanks for paine,
My simple doome is thus in tearmes as plaine:
That both the subject and thy stile is good,
Thou needs not feare the scoffes of Momus' brood.

If thus it be, good Lodge, continue still,
Thou needst not feare Goose sonne, or Gander's hisse,
Whose rude reportes part from a slaundrous quill,
Will be determind but in reading this,
Of whom the wiser sort will thinke amis,
To slaunder him whose birth and life is such,
As false report his fame can never tuch.

John Jones, Gentleman, in praise of the Author.

Though not my praise, yet let my wish prevaile,
Who so thou be that list to read this booke;
I never yet by flatterie did assaile,
To count that good that most did please my looke;
But alwaies wisht my friends such stile to use,
As wise might like, though foolish would refuse.

In opening vice my friend who spends his time,
May count by private good no profit lost,
What errors scape in young and lustie prime,
Experience (badge of truth) may quickly cost.
Who sets the marke that makes men shunne the sand,
Deserves good words, his proofes for profit stand.

For common good to crosse a few men's vaines,
Who, like to Midas, would that all were golde,
I count not misse, since there unlawfull gaines
Makes some men sink, whom birth might well uphold.
I know the sore, the scarre is seene to plaine;
A blessed state where no such wils doo raine.

In brieft, I praise this booke for pretie stile,
For pithie matter; Gentle, be thou judge.
O, would my wish some fancies might begile,
Then faire renewes should not fit a snudge.
A world to see how Asses daunce in golde
By wanton wils, when Gentles starve for colde.

Whose errors if it please succeeding age
To see with sighs, and shun with sad advice,
Let him beholde this booke, within whose page
Experience leaves her chiefest proofes of price.
And thanke the youth that suffered all these toiles,
To warne thee shun that rocke which many spoiles.

FINIS.

Gentlemen, since the presse cannot passe without escape, and some things are so mistaken, as without correction they will be very grose, may it please you when you read to correct, especially, such principall errorrs as these that followe.

Folio 30. b.	Line 4.	For woed, Read wonne.
Folio eod.	Line 8.	For colde, Read cloudes.
Folio eod.	Line 15.	For showde, Read shoard.
Folio eod.	Line 30.	For concluding, Read concluded.
Folio 31. a.	Line 34.	For presents a secrets meete,
		Read with seemly secret greete.

For the rest I referre them to your discretion, who can distinguish coulours, and either better, or fit words to your fantasies,

Your friend :

THOMAS LODGE.

An Alarum against Usurers.

No marvell though the wise man accompted all things under the sun vain, since the cheefest creatures be mortall; and no wonder though the world runne at random, since iniquitie in these later dayes hath the upper hand. The alteration of states, if they be lookt into, and the overthrow of houses, if they be but easely laid in open viewe, what eye would not shed teares to see things so transitorie, and what wisdom would not indeavour to dissolve the inconvenience?

There is a state within this our common wealth, which though it necessarily stand as a pillar of defence in this royall realme, yet such are the abuses that are growen in it, that not onely the name is become odious by somes error, but also, if the thing be not narrowly lookt into, the whole land by that meanes will grow into great inconvenience. I meane the state of Merchants, who though to publyke commoditie they bring in store of wealth from forrein nations, yet such are their domesticall practises, that not onely they inrich themselves mightelye by others misfortunes, but also eate our English gentrie out of house and home. The generall facultie in it selfe is both auncient and lawdable, the professors honest and vertuous, their actions full of daunger, and therefore worthy gaine; and so necessary this sorte of men be, as no well governed state may be without them.

But as among a tree of fruite there bee some withered fallings, and as among wholesome hearbes there growes some

bitter colloquintida, so it cannot be but among such a number of Marchaunts there shoulde bee some that degenerate from the true name and nature of Marchaunts. Of these men I write, and of none other: my invective is private; I will not write generall; and were it not I respected the publyque commoditie more then my private prayse, this matter shoulde have slept in hugger mugger. Of these ungracious men I write, who having nothing of themselves, yet greedelye graspe all things into their owne handes.

These be they that finde out collusions for statutes, and compasse lande with commoditie: these bee the boulderers of ungracious pettie brokers; and by these men (the more is the pittie) the prisons are replenished with young gentlemen. These bee they that make the father carefull, the mother sorrowfull, the sonne desperate: these bee they that make crooked straight, and straight crooked; that can close with a young youth while they cousen him, and feede his humoures, till they free him of his farmes. In briefe, such they bee that glose most fayre then, when they imagine the worst, and unlesse they bee quicklye knowen, they easelye will make bare some of the best of our young heires, that are not yet stayed: whome zealouslye I beseech to overlooke this my writing; for what is sette downe heere, eyther as an eye witnesse I will avowe, or informed even by those gentlemen who have swallowed the gudgen and have bene intangeled in the hooke, I have approovedlye sette downe.

Such bee those sorte of men, that their beginning is of naught, sette up by the devotion of some honest Marchauntes, of whome taking up their refuse commoditie, they imploye it to this ungodly and dishonest purpose.

They finde out (according to theyr owne vayne) some olde soaking undermining solicitour, whom they both furnish with money and expence to sette him foorth, and gette him more creditte: this good fellowe must haunte Ordinaries, canvasse up and downe Powles, and as the catte watcheth the praye

of the mouse, so dilygently intendes hee to the compassing of some young novice, whome by fortune eyther hee findeth in melancholyke passions at the Ordinarye, or at pennillesse devotion in Powles, or perhappes is brought acquaynted with him by some of his owne brotherhoode. Him he handeleth in these or such lyke tearmes, both noting place and circumstance.

Gentleman, why bee you so melancholye? How falleth it out that you are not more lyghtsome? Your young yeares, mee thinkes, shoulde loathe such sollome aspectes. I maye not anye waye imagine a cause why you shoulde bee pensive: you have good parentes; you want no friendes; and more, you have lyvely hoodes: which considered, trulye you committe meere follye to bee so mervaylouslye sadde and wonderfullye sorrowfull, where you have no occasion.

If you want money, you have creditte, (a gift which who so ever injoyeth nowe a dayes, hee is able to compasse anye thing) and for that I see, so good a nature in you, (if proffered service stinke not) I will verye willynglye (if so bee you will open your estate to me) further you in what I may; and perhaps you shall finde your selfe fortunate in falling into my companie.

The young Gentleman, unacquainted with such like discourses, counting all golde that glysters, and him a faithfull frend that hath a flattering tongue, opens all his minde to this subtill underminer, who so wringeth him at last, that there is no secrete corner in the poore Gentleman's heart, but he knoweth it. After that, framing his behaviour to the nature of the youth; if he be sad, sober; if youthly, riotous; if lascivious, wanton; he laboureth so much, that at last the birde is caught in the pit-fall, and perceiving the vaine of the youth, he promiseth him some reliefe by his meanes. The young Gentleman, thinking he hath God Almightye by the heele, holdes the Divell by the toe, and by this meanes is brought to utter wracke and ruine. The Broker, furnished

of his purpose, having learned the Gentleman's name, lodging, want and wealth; and finding all things correspondent to his purpose, hies him to his setter up, who rejoyceth greatly at his good happe, and rewards this wicked seducer with a peece of gold. To be briefe, at first issue, on the Gentleman's bonde, this broking knave receives fortie or fiftie poundes of course commoditie, making him beleewe that by other meanes monie maye not be had, and swearing to him, that there will be great losse, and that he could wish the Gentleman would rather refuse then take. But the youth, not esteeming the losse, so he supplye his lacke, sets him forward, and gives the willing jade the spurre; who finding all things meate in the mouth, makes sale of this marchaundize to some one of his greatest fraternitie, and if it be fortie, the youth hath a good peniworth if in ready money he receive twentie pound, and yet the money repayable at three moneths ende. The Broker in this matter getteth double fee of the Gentleman, tribble gaine in the sale of the commoditie, and more, a thousand thankes of this devillish Usurer.

Truly, Gentlemen, it is wonderfull to conceive (yet are there some of you can tell if I lie) how this sicophant that helpt our youth to get, now learneth him to spend. What, saith he, my young master, what make you with this olde satten doublet? it is soilde; it is unfit for a gentleman's wearing: apparell your selfe as you shoulde bee, and ere fewe dayes passe, I will acquaint you with as brave a dame, a friend of mine, as ever you knew. Oh, how sweete a face hath she! and thus dilating it with rethoricall praises, to make the Gentleman more passionate, it falleth out that the mand fawlecon stoops to lure, and all things are fulfilled according to his Broker's direction. Promises are kept on both partes, and my youth is brought acquainted with Mistres Minxe. This harlot is an old beaten dogge, and a maintainer of the brothell house brotherhoode, a stale for young novises, and a limme of Sathan himselfe, whose behaviours and jestures

are such as the world cannot imagine better: if the Gentleman weepe, she wil waile: if he sorrow, she will sigh: if he be merrie, she will not be modest. To conclude, her lesson is so taught her as she can reckon without booke. Lorde! what riotousnesse passeth in apparell, what lavishnesse in banketting, what loosenesse in living, and in verie short space our youth, which was fligge, is now at leake; his purse is emptie, and his mistres begins to lowre; which he perceiving, and earnestlye bent to continue his credit with his curtisan, comes to his ungracious broker, whom with faire termes he desireth, and with humble suites more earnestlye beseecheth to further his credite in what hee may. Who, seeing which way the hare windeth, begins to blame him for his liberalitie, and yet only is the cause of his spending; and after a few privie nippes, bearing shew of good meaning, but yet indeed his way is to trie conclusions, he hasteth to the principall, his good master Merchant, whom he findeth altogether prompt and redy at a becke to send abroad his refuse commoditie for crackt angels. What conclusion is betweene them both may easily be imagined, but the end is this: the broker returns to my solitarie youth, and recountes unto him first, to make him feareful, how many places he hath ben at, when he hath not visited one; how many he hath desired, yet how few are redie to plesure: at last he breketh out and telleth him the whole, assuring him that he is to think wel of his master Scrape-penie, the usurer, who is willing, in hope of his wel dooing, to let him have once more of his incommodious commodity upon reasonable assurance. To be briefe, the bargain is quickly beaten out; the broker laieth the losse, the gentleman esteemeth not so his need be served, the Merchaunt laughs at his folly in his sleeve; and to conclude, the bonds are delivered, the cursed commoditie received. And at this second mart how speeds our younker, think you? Perhaps of 50 pounds in ware, he receiveth 30 pounds in ready money, and yet the money repayable at three months' end.

O, incredible and injurious dealings! O, more than Judai-call cousonage! Truly, gentlemen, this that I write is true: I my selfe knowe the paymaster; naie, more, I my selfe know certainly that by name I can reckon among you some that have ben bitten, who, left good portions by their parents, and faire lands by their auncestors, are desolate now, not having friends to releeve them, or money to affray their charges. A miserable and wretched state is this, full of inconvenience, when such eie sores are not seene in a common weale, when such abuses are winked at, when such desolation is not perceived; and wonderfull it is that among so many goodly lawes, made for the administration of justice, ther be none found out for these covetous malefactors. Purchased arms now possess the place of ancient progenitors, and men made rich by young youth's misspendings doe feast in the halls of our riotous young spend thrifts.

It will be answered, it is the gentlemen's owne folly, and I graunt it; yet of their folly who should beare the blame? Truly the bier, who having experience to cousin, might also have conscience to forbear them: nay, among the rabblement of such as we find to have falne in their youth, how many experienced men find we at yeares of discretion, who having only the name of gentrie left them to promote them to honor, and finding no releefe any way, are inforced either in forren countries to end their lives miserably, or desperatly? Some more ungratious are a pray for the gallows, choosing rather to die with infamie then to live to beg in miserie. But to leave this to his place, and to return from whence we have digressed.

Our gentleman, having got new supplie, is pricked on to new sinne, and the minister of the devil, serving at his elbow, perswades him to new change; for varietie, saith he, is mer-velously to be admitted of, especially in such causes: and withall brings him a new gamester, a wittie worldling, who more cunningly can handle him then the first, and hath more

shifts of descant for his plain song, (but this by the way is to be noted that the broker hath his part of the gaines with the curtesan, and she cosins for them both) this minion so traineth our seduced youth in folly, as not only himselfe is at her command, but also his substance remaineth to her use. This high prised commoditie is imploied to the curtisan's bravery, and she which makes him brutish in behavior doth empty his replenished purse. Thus the eie of reson is closed up by sensualitie, and the gifts of nature are diminished by the disordinate usage of bestly venery. Supplies are sought for every way by this wicked broker to bring him to ruine, and to work his utter confusion. Thus, thus, alas! the father before his eies, and in his elder yeres, beholdeth as in a mirror the desolation of his owne house, and hearing of the profuseness of his ungratious sonne calleth him home, rebuketh him of his error, and requesteth an account of his money misspended. Hee (taught and instructed sufficiently to coulour his follie by his ungodly mistres, and cursed misleader) at his returne to his father maketh shewe of all honestie, so that the olde man, lead by naturall affection, is almost perswaded that the truth is untruth: yet remembering the privie conveyance of his youthly yeares, and deeming them incident to his young sonne, he discourseth with him thus.

O, my sonne! if thou knewest thy father's care, and wouldest aunswere it with thy well dooing, I might have hope of the continuance of my progeny, and thou be a joy to my aged yeres. But, I feare me, the eyes of thy reason are blinded, so that neither thy father's teares may perswade thee, nor thine owne follies laide open before thine eyes reduce thee, but that my name shall cease in thee, and other covetous underminers shall enjoye the fruites of my long labours. How tenderly, good boye, in thy mother's lyfe wast thou cherished! How deerely beloved! How well instructed! Did I ever entice thee to vice? Nay, rather enforced I thee

not to love vertue? And whence commeth it that all these good instructions are swallowed up by one sea of thy follie? In the Universities thy wit was praised, for that it was pregnant; thy preferment great, for that thou deservedst it; so that, before God, I did imagine that my honour shuld have beginning in thee alone, and be continued by thy offspring; but beeing by mee brought to the Innes of Court, a place of abode for our English gentry, and the onely nurserie of true lerning, I finde thy nature quite altered, and where thou first shuldest have learnt law, thou art become lawlesse. Thy modest attire is become immodest braverie; thy shamefast seemelynes to shamelesse impudencie; thy desire of lerning to loitering love; and from a sworne souldier of the Muses, thou art become a master in the universitie of love; and where thou knowest not anie waie to get, yet fearest thou not outrageously to spend. Report, nay, true report, hath made me privie to many of thy escapes, which as a father though I cover, yet as a good father tenderly I will rebuke. Thy portion by yeare from me is standing fortie pounds, which of it selfe is sufficient both to maintaine you honestly and cleanly: besides this, you are growne in arrearages within this two yeares no lesse than 100 pound, which, if thou wilt looke into, is sufficient for three whole yeres to maintaine an honest familie. Now, how hast thou spent this? forsooth in apparell; and that is the aptest excuse, and lavishnesse in that is as discommendable as in anie other. If in apparell thou passe thy boundes, what make men of thee? A prodigall proude foole; and as many fashions as they see in thee, so manie frumpes will they afford thee, counting thee to carrye more bombast about thy belly, then wit in thy head. Naye, my sonne, muse not uppon the worlde, for that will but flatter thee, but weigh the judgement of God, and let that terrefie thee; and let not that which is the cause of pride nussell thee up as an instrument of God's wrathfull indignation. What account reapes a young

man by brave attire? Of the wise he is counted riotous; of the flatterer a man easily to be seduced; and where one will afford thee praise, a thousand will call the proud. The greatest reward of thy braverie is this,—See, yonder goes a gallant young gentleman: and count you this praise worth ten score pounds? Truly, sonne, it is better to be accounted wittie then wealthy, and righteous then rich: praise lasteth for a moment that is grounded on shewes, and fame remaineth after death that proceedeth of good substaunce. Choose whether thou wilt bee infamous with Erostratus, or renowned with Aristides: by one thou shalt beare the name of sacrilege, by the other the title of just: the first may flatter thee with similitude, the last will honour thee indeede, and more when thou art dead. Sonne, sonne, give eare to thy father's instructions, and grounde them in thy heart; so shalt thou be blessed among the elders, and be an eye sore unto thy enimies. A second grieffe, nay more, a corasive to my heart (young man) is this: you are both prodigall in apparell and in life, and ungratious and ungodly curtisans (as I understand) are become the mistresses of your masterships: and thinkest thou this report could come to thy father's eare and not grieve him? Sonne, I had rather thou shouldest be accounted foolish then amorous; for the one may be borne withall, the other is most odious. Incontinencie (young man) is the root of all inconvenience: it dulleth the memorie, decayeth the bodie, and perisheth the bones: it maketh stedfast fickle, beautifull deformed, and vertuous vicious: it impayreth man's credit, it detracteth from his honour, and shortneth his daies. A harlot's house is the gate of hell, into the which whosoever entereth his vertues doe become vices, his agilitie is growne to slouthfulnesse, and from the child of grace he is made the bondslave of perdition. The wisest by lewde love are made foolish, the mightiest by lust are become effeminate, the stoutest monarches to miserable mecockes. I wot well (my child) that chast love is necessarie, but I know (my sonne)

that lecherie is horrible: a harlot's wanton eie is the lure of the diuell, her faire speeches the snares of sin, and the more thou delightest in her companie, the more hepest thou the wrath of God against thy selfe. Let Lais looke never so demurely, yet Lais is Lais: measure not thy liking by lookes, for there be some holy diuells. To bee briefe, the end is this: he is best at ease that least meddeleth with anie of them. Demosthenes will not buie repentaunce so deere as with high summes to purchase transitorie pleasures; and I had rather thou shouldst learne of a philosopher then bee instructed by thine owne fancie. Marke this action: there is no vertue which is odious after it is attained to; but the pleasures of love are then most loathsome when they are determined, and therefore no vertues, and, to conclude, not to be sought after. It is idlenesse, my sonne, that seduceth thee, for the minde that is well occupied never sinneth. When thou enterpriseth anie thinges, measure thine owne fortune by other men's successe: as thou considerest of theyr ends, so imagine of thine owne. Thinke with thy selfe, the wisest have fallen by love, as Salomon, the richest as Anthonie, the proudest as Cleopatra, the strongest as Sampson; and by how manie degrees they did exceede thee, by so many circumstaunces prevent thy ruine. It is enough for sillie birdes to be lead by the call of the fowler, and for men it is most convenient to flye apparaunt goods, and sticke to that which is indeede. Though thine eie perswade thee the woman is beautifull, yet let thy experience teach thee she is a curtisan; and wilt thou esteeme of painted sepulchres; when thou knowest certaine and determined substaunces? Doe we buie ought for the fairenesse or goodnesse? Spangled hobbie horses are for children, but men must respecte things which be of value indeede. I imploie my money uppon thee, not to the use thou shouldst be lewde, but for that I woulde have thee learned. It greeveth mee to heare of thy companie keeping, for where thou offendst in the two formost,

thou art altogether misledde in this; and truelye I cannot but mervayle at thee, that beeing borne reasonable to make election, thou art so untoward in picking out thy choice. Agree light and darkenesse? Or the Icknewmon with the Aspiss? Doeth the weezell love the cockatrice? Or gentle borne such as bee ungratious? No, my sonne, broking bugges are not companions for continent courtiers; for who so eyther accompanyeth them is eyther accounted a spende thrifte, or one that is Sir John Lackelande, eyther of their fraternitie, or else a verie foole.

Finde me out anie of them that in thy adversitie will helpe thee, or in thy misdemeanors advise thee: nay, such they are as will rather binde thee prentice with Sathan, than exhort thee to eschew sinne. They bee the caterpillers of a common weale, the sting of the adder, nay, the privie foes of all gentrie; and such they be that if they get, they care not how ungodly; and if they cousen, they care not how commonly. So that three vices have now taken hold of thee: first prodigalitie, the enimie to continencie; next, lasciviousnesse, the enimie of sobrietie; and thirdly, ill company, the decayers of thy honestie. The meanes to avoyde these evils are manifest, but they must be followed: it is not sufficient to knowe a fault, but it is wisdom to amend it. Humble thy heart, my sonne, to the Highest, and the more thou considerest of him, the lesse wilt thou care for this flesh; for what is the body better by the gay rayment? truly, no more then the soule is by superfluous zeale, for as the one is foolish, so is the other franticke. Leave lust, least it lose thee: use chaste delights, for they will comfort thee: it is better driving a toye out of memorie by reading a good lesson, then by idlenesse to commit an error which is sawced with repentaunce. Of needlesse evils make no accompt: the lesse you accompany the worst, the more wil you be sought to by the best. Easie it is to say well, but the vertue is to doo well. O, my dear childe, as

thy frend I exhort thee, and as thy loving father I command thee to consider the tender care I have of thee, and to imploy all thy indeuours now to my comfort: if thou hast runne awry, call thy selfe home, and waye within thy heart the reward both of vertue, and the discredite by vice; so the honour of the one will incite thee, the infamy of the other will deterre thee. For those debts that have over past thee, in hope of amendement I will see them satisfied, and if heereafter thou fall into the lyke lurch, I promise thee this, that as now I deale with thee as a father, so then will I accompt of thee as a reprobate. Thou seest fire and water before thee; chuse to thy liking: in dooing well, I will rejoyce in thee, in dealing otherwise, I will nothing account of thee.

The father, with teares having ended this exhortarie, is aunswered in humble sort of his dissembling sonne thus.

Whatsoever (good father) is passed is irrecoverable, but what is to come may be considered of: it is naturall in me to fall, and vertuous to recover my selfe. I confesse, good sir, I am guiltie of errour, and have faulted highlye; yet not so greatlye as you intimate. The world now a dayes is rather bent to aggravate then to cover escapes. Wherefore as the first step to amendement is repentance, so (deare father) I am sorrie for that is past, and most earnestly request you to continue your favour, and no doubt but your sonne shall behave himselfe heerafter to your comfort.

The father, delighted with his sonnes discrete and humble aunswere, conceiveth hope of amendment, and returneth him to the Innes of Court againe, and setting him on free foote, exhorteth him to follow vertue, and intently to long after learning. But he, whose heart was pliable to receive all impressions, no sooner is out of the view of his father's house but began to forget his olde promises, and renewes the remembrance of his mistresse, devising by the way how to delight her, and what sutes to provide that may satisfie her. To bee briefe, being returned to London, and quit of his

father's servants, (the newes of his arrivall being blazed abroad) his Broker in post hast comes and salutes him, his mistresse by tokens and sweete letters greetes him, hee maketh his Marchant joyfull in the receipt of the money, and mistresse Minxe merrie for the returne of her young copes-mate.

To be briefe, in post hast he posteth to her chamber, where, Lord! what frendly greetings passe, what amorous regards! how she blameth him of his delaye, and with fained teares watereth his youthly face! how she sweares that she is constant, and yet a curtesan! howe she vowes she is continent, and yet common! Truly, it were matter to make a Comedie on, to see both their actions, and to note their discourses. There needes not many or long sermons on this: master Broker's help in short space is sought for; for the money my youth's father gave him hath bought his mistresse a sute of the new fashion. The Broker, readie at a becke, without delay furnisheth him with money: it is lamentable to report every losse; and sith in another place I meane to set them downe, I will not motion them heere. In short space our Marchant beginneth to looke after more assurance; and where to fore he was content with obligation, he now hunteth after statutes. (This kind of bond, gentlemen, is well known among you: the usurers by this time have built mannor houses upon some of your lyvelihoods, and you have lost that for little, which will not be recovered with much.) The force whereof our youth considering not, so he have foyson of money, the world, to be short, at the last falleth out thus: both land, money, and all possibilities, either by father or friende, are incroched upon by this gentle master Serape-peny, so that now our youth, finding neither suretie nor similitude, by his flattering Usurer is laid up close for escaping. Let him write to his huswife, mistresse Minxe, she disdaineth him: let him intreate the Broker, he refuseth him: let him make sute to the Usurer, he saith hee shall not cousen him. Thus this gentleman, that neyther by his father's counsell

woulde refuse, nor by his owne experience be perswaded to avoyde the eminent daunger that hanged over his head, is brought to confusion, and those friends that fawned on him before in prosperitie, now frowne at him in his adversitie: those that depended with flattering words in time of wealth on his finding, now altogether disdain him that cannot finde himselfe.

Loe, gentlemen, what it is to winke at good counsell, and to preferre young attempts before old experience! See here the fruites of contempt, and lette these lessons serve you to looke into: had this gentleman regarded advice, had he considered of his estate, himselfe had bene at libertie, his friends in quiet. But (alas the while!) our heires now a dayes have running heads, which makes their parents abounde in teares: some are led with novelties in forreine nations: some with prodigalitie in their owne countrey: some with pride, the first fruites of all impietie: some by love, the ladie of loose-nesse. If one hunteth after vertue, how many hundreds doo daily practise vice? Let the experience of this young novice (my youthly countrey men) make you warie, and see but unto this one parcell of his lyfe, and give your judgement of his misfortune. His wit was sufficient to conceive vertue, yet knowing (with Medea) the best, he headlong came to the worst. Nature's gifts are to be used by direction: he had learning, but hee applied it ill: he hadde knowledge, but hee blinded it with selfe opinion. All graces whatsoever, all ornaments what so they be, either given us by our foreparent, or grafted in us by experience, are in themselves as nothing, unlesse they be ordered by the power of the most Highest. What care, conceive you, may be comparable to this young gentleman's father's sorrow, who seeth his house pluckte over his head, his sonne imprisoned, to his great discredite, and the Usurer the onely gainer, and yet the most vilest person.

Nowe, what becommeth of our youth, thinke you? His

father refuseth him, dispossessing the ryghte heyre of what hee maye, and poore hee is left desolate and afflicted in prison. And in these dayes how many are infected with this desperate disease, gentlemen, judge you. I my selfe with teares have heard some privie complaints, and lamented my friends misfortunes, falne so sodainly. My good friends, that are heerafter to enter into this world, looke in this glasse: it will show you no counterfait, but the true image of a rebellious sonne, and the rewarde of contempt of parents. Account your selves happie to learne by others experience, and not to be partakers of the actuall sorrowe. Obey your parents, for they love you; trust not to straungers, for they will upbraide your of their benefite: it is better to have the stripes of a friend, then the kisses of a flatterer. Plato would have young men to looke in the glasse for two causes; the one, that if they founde themselves beautyfull in visage and of exquisite stature, they might indevor to make the vertues of their minde aunswerable to the liniaments of the bodie; the other, that if they found themselves of deformed shape, they should seeke to beautifie the same by the inward perfections of the minde. And for two causes, my good friends, woulde I wish you to consider of this man's fall, and read his misfortune; the one that not being yet nipped, you may prevent; the other, that being but yet a little galled, you woulde holde backe.

Est virtus placidis abstinuisse bonis.

As the loadstone draweth yron, so let good counsaile conquere your affections: as the Theamides of Aegypt driveth awaie yron, so let the feare of God dispell all worldly pleasures. If a simple man fall to decay, it may be borne withall: if a man of wisdome grow in arrearages, may we not blame his follie? It is better to bee envyed then pittied, for thou art pittied alwayes in misfortune, but envied at time of thy prosperitie. To bee brieve (gentlemen) overlooke this ad-

visedly, and you shall finde many things worthy the noting, and no few matters written for your commoditie. This miserable young man, overwhelmed thus on everie side with manifolde and sundry cares, beholding his most unfortunate state, in wofull termes, in the prison house, breketh into these complaints.

Alas! unhappie wretch that I am, that having a good father that did cherish me, a tried mother that tenderly nourished me, many friends to accompanie me, faire revenewes to enrich me, have heaped sorrowe on my owne head by my father's displeasure, refused of my friends for my misdemeanour, and dispossessed of my land by my prodigalitie. O, incestuous lust! that enterest the hart and consumest the bones, why followed I thee? And O, ungodly pleasure! why didst thou flatter me? O, wicked and ungracious man, that hast undone me, and woe be unto thee, (vile wretch) that in my miserie doest thus leave me! What shall become of me, poore wretch? faine now would I begge that bread, which vainlye I have spent: now too too late doo I see that fainednesse is no faith, and he that trusts to this world cleaves to a broken staffe. Alas! how should I attaine to libertie, or by what meanes may I escape my confusion? My father hath accepted of another sonne, and all by reason of my lewdnesse. O, that I had respected his unfained teares! O, that I had accepted of his good advice! O, that I had rejected my flattering friends! But I see no hope is lefte to me: my creditour is too cruell, yet hath he cousoned me; and faine would I be his slave, woulde he release me; but since no hope is lefte me of recoverie of my estate, I referre my cause to God, who as he will remit my offence, so will he redresse my miserie and grieve.

Whilest in these, or such like tearmes, the poore young man bewayles his heavie happe, sodainly enters his cousoning creditour; and in outwarde shew bewailynge his misfortune, but in very truth the onely originall cause of

his destruction, comforteth him in these, or such like termes.

Gentleman, the exigent and extremitie that you are now at, though it be most tedious unto you, it is most lamentable in my opinion. These young yeeres to taste of sorrowe so soone is straunge, considering all circumstaunces; but since the cause proceedes of your owne lewd misspending, mine be be the losse in part, but the greter must your affliction be. I, hoping of your well dooing, neither denied your pleasure nor profit, yet in liew and recompence of all, I finde just nothing: a few subscribed papers I have, and some money I have receyved, but nothing to my principall; and yet notwithstanding, so favourable wil I be unto you, as if you procure me any one suretie, I will release you. To leese my money I were loath, and to keepe you heere it were more loathsome. I wold doo all for the best, not hindering my selfe, so you would straine your selfe to satisfie me somewhat.

The gentleman, knowing in himselfe his unability, be-ginneth in truth to open his state, protesting that neither of himselfe, nor by any one at the present he is [able] to doo any thing; no, not so much as if he released him to pay his charges; such is his miserie, in that all his frends had given him over, whereupon most humbly he beseecheth him to way his cause, promising him any service what so ever may be, if so he wil please him to set him free. Mas. Usurer, smelling out the disposition of the youth, beginnes to bring him to his bowe after this sort.

The world at these dayes is such, (my friende) as there is small respect had of those which have nought, and great honour attributed unto them that will most neerly looke to themselves: which I perceiving, have given my selfe (as naturally men are inclined to seeke after glory) to the hoording up of riches, to the end that my posteritie might be raised up, and my father's name (which as yet is of no accomplt) might by my meanes become worshippfull. To the

perfourmance of this, trulye, I have neither been idle nor evil occupied: my thoughts have beene wholly set of gettings, and who so nowe a dayes hath not the like meaning, his purpose will grow to small effect. And though of my selfe I doo what I may, yet (as it is necessary) I must have ministers, wherby that which I looke for may be brought to my hands: otherwise my stocke might lye without usaunce, to my utter undooing. Whereupon, if thou wilt followe my direction and be ruled by my counsell, I will release thee of prison, and set thee at libertie, restore thee to thy wonted credite, and countenaunce thee with my coyne, so that in shorte space thou maist have money in thy pursse and other necessities to set thee up againe. Thou seest that now thou art miserable, but I will make thee fortunate: thou now art almost foodlesse, by me thou shalt be satisfied with the best: thy friends now disdaine thee, the day shall come that they shall seeke to thee: now art thou without aparell, through me thou shalte bee costlye attired: naye, what pleasure soever thou shalt either imagine for thy preferment, or wish for to doo thee good, thou shalt both finde me readie to performe it, and friendly to continue it.

The gentleman, surprised with this sodaine joye, and unacquainted good speeches, (not dreading that the serpent laye hidden in the grasse) most willingly assented, promising to the adventure of his lyfe (so his creditour woulde be his wordes master) to doo his indeavour to perfourme his will, as hee ought to doo. The Usurer, seeing the minde of his prisoner precisely bent to doo his commaunde, openeth his heart unto him thus.

Gentleman, for that I have an opinion of your honestye, and truste in your secrecy, I will open unto you my minde, and according as I finde your aunswere, I will shape your deliveraunce. Such time as you were at libertie, you know you had acquaintance with manye gentlemen, and they not of the meanest, who at sometimes, as well as

yourselfe, were destitute of silver. Such as those you must finde out for me. I will delyver you presentlye; apparayle you in print, give you money in your pursse, and at such an Ordinarye shall you lye, where the greatest resorte is. Your behaviour and usage towardes all men must be verye honest; especiall ye in all causes looke into the nature of men. If you spie out any one gentleman pensive, enter into discourse with him: if you maye perceive that either by parentage or possession hee is worthie credite, laye holde on him, feede him with money if he want, and (as though it proceeded of your own good nature) profer him to be bound for him: if he accept your offer, come to me; I will furnish him. Nowe, you may devide the commoditie or the money between you, and out of your part (considering me after the bignesse of the summe) take the rest for your owne fee; which, if you looke into, in a yeare will growe unto no small summe. This is the load-stone must lead you; and by all meanes you must fashion your selfe to feede humours. This is the honest meanes to lyve by: this is a way to libertie: by this you may pleasure your selfe, and conclude in doing this you maye mightilye in short space enrich me. When you have found out one fit to your vaine, remember this lesson, that what so-ever vantage you get of him, either for me or for your self, care not how little paper and inke he can shewe of yours: keepe still your owne stake cleere. In these matters you must be verie circumspect, for there be now a daies such underminers start up, that scarce a man can imagine his owne profit, but they preach it a broad, and laye it open. Thus you see wherto you must trust: howe saye you now? will you be content to do this?

The young man aunswereth: Good sir, there is nothing that you have sayde that by mee shall anie wayes be forgotten. I am readie and willing to put in practise what you have taught, and no doubt you shall finde me so diligent that your selfe shal say, you were happie in putting me in trust.

In briefe, the conclusion is this: the Usurer, glad of this new gentleman broker, dischargeth him, sets him afloat. Now who so brave as our late prisoner, or who so frolicke? The olde sorrowes are forgotten, and new inventions to cousin possesse the receptacle of his reason. His olde acquaintance flocke about him, some rejoycing at his recovered libertie, some wondering at his sodaine braverie, yet few suspecting his pretended and hidden knaverie. Of them some he saluteth humblye, some ordinarilye: he was not so well instructed, but it is as well performed. Now who but our gentleman is a companion for the best, and a cousiner of the most: he staies not long before he be provided of a praie, whom he so ordereth as himselfe is partaker of the halfe, though the other be paymaster of the whole; and as those who are in the heate and extremitie of an ague desire drink to satisfie their drought, so this young gentleman that is brought into bondes by one cousining spend thrift, having once entered foote in the high waie of prodigalitie, continueth headlong his course to his owne confusion.

But by the way it is to be noted, that this gentleman which is brought into the laps by our late prisoner, hath his possession and portion allotted to him, so that our Usurer and his mate worke upon sure groundes. Two or three obligations and commodities received, our Usurer grows to new devises, and sets his schollers to practise them. Saith he, I must now have you learne to bring in this your friend to paie your debtes, and by this meanes you shall bring it about. You shall, when next time he shall demaund your helpe, tell him that of me there will be had no money, before your olde bondes be canceled: so that unlesse he deale with me by some meanes to acquit that, it is impossible to attaine unto anie farther supplie. You may alleadge unto him, howe in such like extremities you have stucke, and will sticke unto him, and desire him in so easie a request he wil not leave you destitute. By this meanes shall you be rid of your olde

debts, and be as free from inconvenience as ever you wer. No sooner hath our seducer learnt this lesson, but forth he trudgeth to find out this young master, if possible may be : if so be he is as yet stored, he doth either make him spend it or lend it, and upon his new request of supply openeth unto him all the circumstance which before he had learned, and so cunningly handleth him, that the gentleman, desirous of money, is easiely content.

Whereupon the matter is handeled thus betwixt the merchaunt and this gentleman broker, to prevent inconvenience : if the broker's bond be an hundreth pounds, the merchaunt will lend fiftie more, and maketh the young man to seale an absolute bond as his owne debt, so that the desperate debte of the decayer, cousoned by his meanes, is brought to be the true debt of this silly gentleman. Naie, when they have fatted both their fingers, they leeve not thus, but from money shoote at land ; for if the gentleman have 500 pound in stocke payable at 24 or 25 yeares, they will so worke as all that shall be their proper goods, which they will recover out of the executors hands, either by attachment or otherwise ; and besides that so cunningly will they deale, that although they have sufficient assuraunce in hand alreadie, yet wil they not leave till they get an other more sure string to their bowe, therby to compasse the poore gentleman's lands.

At his want they will deale thus. This gentleman and the broker must bee invited by the merchant, when amongst other table talke, M. Scrape-penie feeles my youth if his monie be gone, and offring speeches of willingnes to provide him alwaies at his need, sets on, by a becke, his cousoning mate to procure the gentleman to crave more mony, which he doth. The merchant cunningly coulering his craft, answereth him thus.

Gentleman, you see I am far out already, and upon your single bond I have disburst a round sum of money, no lesse than 500 poundes, which in a poore man's purse, as I am, is no small quantitie : nevertheles, if you will affoord me farther

assurance, I wil not stick in redie mony once more to lend you 30 pounds. The gentleman, never tofore used to receive redy mony at the first hands, begins to yeeld him harty thanks, and humbly to pray him to demand and he will performe; for, saith he, considering your honest dealing, I cannot think you may imagine any resonable assurance which I wil not seale to. Why then, quoth the merchant, the matter standeth thus: if so be you will seale me an estatute for my mony, no sooner shall you have done it, but you shal have the mony, all your bonds in, and a defesance to: this that I offer is reasonable, and to morrow, if you will, I will doe it. Agreed, quoth the gentleman, and so takes his leave. The next morrowe, according to promise, the gentleman sealethe the assurance, acknowledging an estatute before some one Justice of the bench, and comming to his merchant's house for his money, is delaied for that day of, and in fine his absolute answeare is this, that without a suretie he promised him none. He takes witnesse of his friend, (as he tearmeth him) a prety peece of witnesse! When he seeth no remedie, he demaundeth his bondes, and he withholdeth them: he craves his deceafance, and cannot have it. Thus is the poore gentleman brought into a notable mischief, first in being cousoned of his mony; next deluded by his estatute without defeasance, (for if the defeasance be not delivered the same time or daie the statute is, it is nothing available); thirdly, by his bonds detaining, which may be recovered against him, and continue in full force; and the Usurer that playes all this rie will yet be counted an honest and well dealing man. But flatter them who list for me, I rather wish their soules health, then their good countenances, though I knowe they will storme at me for opening their secrets, yet truth shall countenaunce mee, since I seeke my countries commoditie.

Heere you see two houses destroied manifestly, the one of them from a gentleman made a cousoner, the other of them from a landed man, a silly poore wretch. And wonderfull it

is to see, considering the asperitie of the penal statutes set downe by her Majestie and her honourable Peeres in the Parliament, how pretie collusions these conning merchants can find to infringe them. One private practise they have in deliverie of the commoditie, to make the condition of the obligation thus:—The condition, &c., is this, that if the within bound T. C., his heires, executors, or assignes, doe well and truely pay, or cause to be paid to the above named M. S. the sum of 40 pounds of lawful mony of England, at his owne dwelling house, scituated and being in Colman Street, which he the said T. C. standeth indebted to him for, if so be that the said M. S. or S. his wife be in life, that then; otherwise &c. Now in this condition the casual mart bringeth it out of the compasse of the statute. Thus by collusions M. Scrape-penie gathers up his money.

Others worke by statute and recognisaunce, making their debter to discharge in their bookes of account the receipt of so much money, where indeede they had nothing but dead commoditie. Other worke by lives; as if such a one live thus long, you shall give mee, during his or her life, 10 pounds a yeare for 30 pounds, and be bound to the performaunce of that by statute. Other some deale in this sorte: they will picke out among the refuse commoditie some pretie quantitie of ware, which they will deliver out with some money: this sum may be 40 pound, of which he will have you receive 10 pound readie money, and 30 pounds in commoditie, and all this for a yeare: your bonde must be recognisaunce. Now, what thinke you by all computation your commoditie will arise unto? Truely I my selfe knew him that received the like, and may boldly avouch this—that of that thirtie pounds commoditie there could by no broker be more made then foure nobles: the commoditie was lute stringes; and was not this, thinke you, more then abhominable usurie? Naie, common losses, and the reasonablest is, for 36 pound for three months, accounted a good penie worth, if there be made in

readie mony 20 pounds; naye, passing good, if they make 25 poundes; and I have knowen of fortie, but fifteene pound and tenne shillings. These be general payments and receits incident to the most part of the young gentlemen that I knewe deale that wayes: and truely I my selfe knowe within my time no few number of gentlemen which are utterly undone by this meanes, and unlesse this evill be prevented, and gentlemen take not more heede, more will followe after. But if the punishment of these men were *in discretione iudicis*, notwithstanding the lawe were coloured with all by them, yet the conscience of the judge woulde cut such ill members off. In former ages, these things being knowen, were lookt unto, and now, when most punishment is menaced, usurie is most practised. Well may we now see that the craftie have as many cautiles as the discreet cautions. If we had as severe lawes in England as once in Athens Solon set downe, wee shoulde then cast a rayne over the head strong unrulynesse of these caterpillars: there it was not lawfull, the father beeing living, that anye money shoulde bee lent unto the sonne; who, beeing under his father's government, was not to bee ordered according to his owne lyking: and there, whosoever did transgresse this lawe, it was ordayned that hee might have no recoverye, nor bee releevd anye waye by justice, for it was doubted that the sonne having no wayes to aunswere that he did owe, should eyther be inforced by practising conjurations in the Citie, or exercising privie thefte in his Father's house, to ridde and discharge himselfe of the burthen of his debte.

The Aegyptians and Athenians, seeing the error of covitious usurie to take footing in their provinces, by approved judgement concluded, that by no instrument, plea, execution, or other meanes in lawe a bodie might be detained; the originall beeing for corrupt gaines.

The Romanes, who not onely invented, but imitated those lawes which confounded error, by decree of Senate with the

Athenians, in the very same termes as they didde, sette downe that no money should bee lent to young heyres uppon interest, neyther allowing the detinue pleadable, nor the usurie aunswerable, having a private eye into the unmeasurable and greedie intents of those covetous carles, who compasse the father's landes before the sonne come to it.

In the lawe of the Twelve Tables orders in this cause were prescribed, and directions set downe by the Tribunes: among whome a man of rare vertue, Lucius Gomatius, instituted and made a law, wherein he enacted that no usurie nor usurers shoulde bee allowed.

Lucius Lucullus, seeing this errour alreadye creapt thorough all Asia, and (lyke a wise governour) wylling to prevent, not onelye made a law to avoyde all occasion of unlawfull gaines, but also appoynted punishmentes to those that were subject to the errour.

Tiberius Cæsar, as curious as the rest for common good, didde, with as great circumspection as might bee, take awaye the cause, and displace the effecte of this mischief; not suffering that to take heade in his government, that was the capytall enemye of a well ordered state. Claudius Cæsar, not yeelding to his auncestours in honourable actions, renewed these lawes. Vespasian continued them, and Marcus Antonius Pius, with Alexander Severus, established them with publike instrumentes; who, to the fore-passed erroures, by farther insight joyned this, that by this unlawfull getting manye of the best and most auncient houses in all Italy were brought to utter ruyne and confusion.

The Indians, disdayning such servile attemptes, not onely mislikte of lending, but also forbad borrowing: neither is it lawfull for an Indian to proffer, nor agreeable for one of the nation to suffer injuries, disdayning among them both the use of oblygations, and the abuse of pawning.

Hatefull was this errour in Licurgus Common weale of

Sparta, whereas not onely the name was odious, but also the thing it selfe was asperlye punished.

Agis, king of the same citie, seeing the practises of the covetous to work so wonderfully as they seemed, not onely punished the attempters of unlawfull profite, but also in the open market place hee burnt all the bondes and oblygations of the rich Bankers in the citie.

In Thebes it was by statute forbidden, that anye man should be put in office, that within tenne yeares before the election had practised any unlawfull chaffering.

The Germanes, in theyr taxations of antiquitie, whereas they bound the theefe to restore double the thing he stole, they ordeyned that the usurer shuld make recompence foure folde for his injurie. And in borrowing the felicitie of all these countries, wee are not so happie as to abridge those errours that they most mislykt of. But heere, perhappes, some curyous maintainer of unnecessarie members will conclude that the state cannot anie wayes be hindered by anie these actions, inferring that the dissolution of one familie is the setting up of another, which in as many vertues maye match, and with as greate value imploie it selfe in the state as the other that is decayed.

Heereunto I shape this aunswere—that if it be true that the nobilitie of the father worketh in the childe, I cannot see howe these upstartes maye anie waies employe themselves in honourable actions, when as neither their auncestours ever knewe more then their beads, or their fathers other then unlawfull gaines: and howe can it bee, that where the minde onely worketh in servile subjects, it should anie waies be elevated to attempt honourable exploits? But be it these sorte of men are necessarie both in themselves and for their countrie, which cannot be concluded, in that they be broken members, yet must they conclude by (the touchstone of truth) the Scriptures that their necessarinesse in this world makes them unnecessary for God; by whose presidents if they

should leuell their lawes, I am afraid the graft wold be so stiffe in the bending, that it would be rather thought more necessarie for the fewell, then worthy the correction. In the most happiest man that ever was, whether philosopher or otherwise, I find this, that one onely blemish in his actions hath made them ben noted for an error. Now, if these men shuld in their enterprises be gazde into, I feare me that as in the black jet is seene no white, in the deadlye poison is founde no preservative, in the sprouting iwie no fruite, on the unnecessarie thistle no grapes, so in these men the mischief would be so manifest, that the shew of virtue would be extinguished. So that I can necessarily conclude this—that both these sorte of men are unnecessarye for themselves, unmeete for their countrey, unfit for a family, yea, convenient for nothing, but to present the painter with the true image of covetousnes. For themselves, how can they be profitable in destroying their soules, and martering their bodies? in consuming themselves with thought in divising of newe attemptes to delude? If they compare but their hearts' sorrow with their excesse of gain, they shall finde this most certain, that the encombrances of the minde are so peysant, that they doo by oddes weigh downe their commoditie in the ballaunce. What is it to get good, and to loose happinesse? to injoye much riches and little rest? to have manye lordships, and much heart-breake? Alas! what are the goods of fortune, that they should entice, or the plesures of the flesh, that they should allure? If our stately pallaices were to continue permanent; if our worldly riches were to make our after yeares renowned; if every thousand of our ducates were to benefit us but with a hundred good precepts, I would beare with covetousnes with the best, and practise it with the most: but since we see that much hording cannot be without sinne, much getting without griefe, much increase of goods without decrease of vertues, I cannot but conclude with the philosophers, that the hoording up of riches maketh many

impressions of vices; and that those that are no wayes profitable for themselves are not worthy the names of citizens in a state: whereas, when all things should be limited by vertue, how can usury be winkt at, when it is no way legitimate?

Our lawes in this state, although they suffer a commoditie, yet confirme not they taking, concluding heerein a mer-vaylous pollicye to those have in sight, which is that leaving it evident that where neither lawe of God can limit them, nor disposing of right suffer them, nor prevention of errours withdrawe them from punishing this error and not letting it slip, they, as willyng to pul away by peece-meales as to confound altogether, like wise surgions eate out the dead flesh by sundrye plaisters, and no sodaine corosive, thereby wisely warning the wise to pull back by curtesie, and the indurate, by beholding their forberance, to feare the scourge when it shal come.

Yet some will here adde and inferre (though unnecessarily) that those whom I heere so asperlye reprehend are as religious as the best, haunt the church with the most,*at their buriall be as bountifull as the goodliest; and therefore it may not be thought, that seeing so many goods, they should follow the bad. To whom I aunswere—If they beare correction of sin by often haunting of sermons, yet continue their wickednesse when they know what it worketh, their actions are wicked, their lives dissolute, their endes desperate. For theyr bountie at their burialls, that is but their last action and their best attempt; but if we looke into the considerations of their benificence, I doubt not but we shall finde whereas their shooe wringeth them. If they are liberall to leave them a memorie when they are gone, alas! they strive against the streame; for this it will fall out: perhaps they will have a few poore women's praiers for their blacke gownes, but a thousand decayed gentlemen's curses for their high exactions. If they be bounteous in hope to recompense that which is past, alas! it is as much as to cast water to stoppe a

gappe, or gather brambles to builde manor houses. If they be lookt into in this their penie doale, we shall finde a kinde of impulsion in all thinges. Truly, truly, I feare mee, if Mas. Usurer knewe he shoulde live, hee had rather have a fayre pawne for his foure nobles, then a thousand prayers of a poore woman; and the forfeiture of a lease of his xx poundes, then the funerall epitaph of the universities for his last willes liberalitie.

Since, therefore, impulsion forceth them to be bounteous, not free will liberall, we must accompt them thus—that both they are unworthie praise, being unwilling to be bountifull, and little to be esteemed of, though their pretence bee never so perfect. What praise deserveth he that will proffer medicines to a whole bodie, or the spur to a willing horse, or the raine to an unwildie colt, or honor to a perverse man? shall we conclude because the usurer is rich, he is righteous? because wealthie, wise? because full of gold, therefore godly? I feare me it will fall out that some of our scrape penies are worthie to be delivered to perdition as Savanarola of Rome, (of whom Marabus maketh mention) who not satisfied with excessive gain in his life time, at his death became a praie to divells. It grieveth me to consider of the unhappie state of some who, like fine cloth, are devoured with these moths; like white cambricke, are stained with this yron moulde; and silly birds are deceived with the call of this fowler. O, unhappy state! staine with unprofitable members, whose feete tread the wayes of errours, mindes imagine mischeife, heartes are indurate, confounding the fatherlesse, oppressing the widow, making all poore, and themselves onely rich.

A lamentable case it is to see how true simplicitie, the maintainer of peace, is almost altogether exiled out of our common weale; and that worldlye wit doeth wade so farre, as heavenlye wise are brought into admiration of their mischiefe. In other notable governements and common weales this one vice hath had a fall, and heere, where it should be most detested, it is most used. Great hath bene our wis-

domes in repression of conspiracies, great our policies in maintaining peace, circumspect our preventions to eschew mutinies; and yet the long time we have laboured in this, yet dayly more and more it groweth to head: and whereas the other vices have bene exterminated by good looking to, this (though altogether loathed) is most lookt after. And in this case I must appeale to you (right honourable) whose wisdom is continually employed to the maintenaunce of our state, and crave you cast your eye aside, and but looke into the worlde a lyttle. Lette your Herauldes Bookes be spied into; consider the state that hath bene and now is, and I feare me, there will some teares fall, and more care be conceived. Alas! I know it well, that many auntient coates will be found there uncounテナunced; and it is to bee found out that some sleepe on their beds of downe in those mannor houses, which were builded for the staye of some of our best seigniors. Nay, is it not true that more are eaten out with usury then anye other abuse whatsoever? And although commissions are graciously graunted from her Majestie, as a most mercifull prince, and from your honours, as most sage, fatherly, and prudent tenderers of gentry grown into povertie, yet such is the contempt of some men, as they neither measure commaund, nor have respect to conscience. The reverend fathers and eyes of religion in the common weale, how exclaime they on this vice, and pronounce the wrathfull threatres of the Almighty against these ungracious gatherers! yet how slenderly they regard them, their manifest and notorious mischiefes beare record. So that it is to be feared, that when neither honourable commaund may controll them, nor divine admonition reclaime them, they are growen into a reprobate sense, and have forsaken the law of the Lord, and hunted after the whore, and are dronken with the lycour of her abominations.

*Principiis obsta, sero medecina paratur,
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.*

Noble Lords, may it please you a little more to give me leave, that as I have manifested the mischief so (to my slender conceit) I may imagine a salve. The nobilitie, gentrie, and other heires whatsoever, either by reason of their father's tenour are wardes unto her Majestie, or else by the tender provision of their parents they are lefte to the discretion of their kinsfolke. For those that by her Majesties prerogative, by the death of their fathers, fall into her protection, the most part of them are begged by gentlemen, and committed to their tuition: among whome, as there be some provident and carefull to consider of the childes commoditie, so (I feare me) other some are selfe minded, and greedie of their owne gaine; which if so be it fall out, I feare me, the childe that is under this government will happely miscarrie, for if the maintenance come from the protector slenderly, the nature of the youth beeing noble will covet after supplie, and so through the covetousnes of the one growes the confusion of the other; and by this meanes growes the gentleman unto the Merchant's booke in arrerages, when his warden furnisheth him not according to his degree and calling. But it may be, that there bee purposes imagined by the governour, and practised by the Merchaunt, so that the one will not bee pertaker of the shame, yet will he not sticke to beare part of the gaine.

But to let further matters wittingly overslip, for that I finde it good to winke at somewhat, retorne we to the other sortes of heires, left in the tuition of friendes: among whome there growe lyke inconveniences as in the former; for nowe a dayes kinsfolkes are as covetous as others, and as craftye as the best, whose private conveyances the young heires knowe, and severallye, when they be sought into, will open. But for the ordering of all these thinges, and the recovering of this state, it were convenient that the Warden of the wardes under her Majesties protection, should, at the receipt of the gentleman, be bound, according to the value, to

the honourable that have authoritie in that case, for the usage of the gentleman, and that certaine stipend might be set downe annuallie for his provision, rather with the most then least, so that then it will fall out that, having sufficient of his owne, he will not depend on the supplye of an other. The like animadversion, if it bee had in respect of the other, and the care of taking the bonds, and prefixing the portion set downe by the direction of certaine justices of peace in everie sheere, we should have lesse complaints to trouble your honours, and Merchaunts should want young ministers to ridde them of their refuse commoditie. I have glaunced into the matter, (my good Lord) which if wisdome considerably looke into, there will growe an exquisite platforme.

These causes, right honourable, are necessarie and needfull to be noted, and such they be, that, no doubt, they will be as beneficiall to the state as any other whatsoeuer; for by this meanes your honours shall be praised, the Wardens wel thought of, the gentlemen kept in good state, and the Merchant abridgde of his craftie dealings. I have heard this cause lamented of among the most part of that profession, who loth their title should be attributed to so outrageous dealers. If they will desire the name, let them use the nature, and let not the whole order be blemished by a few disordered dealers blame.

But to leave this to your honourable and grave consideration, and to returne to your curteous gentlemen, to whome this matter most pertaineth, and for whose onely cause this pain is taken, I most earnestly beseech you, looke into your owne states, and consider with your selves the misery and mischief that groweth by these follies. Consider the end of all these practises, which the usurers doe put in ure: forsooth, it is to make you beggers, where now your supplyes be plentifull, and to emptie your purses, where now they are replenished: consider of their mercy; either it is imprisonment, or else libertie with more shame: weygh of their ends, agree-

ing to their life. It was a pretie and wittie saying which was written—

Araro quid mali optes ni ut vivat diu.

With a covetous man no more mischief, then that he may live long, for he dieth daily in care, and consumeth in thought. Refraine prodigalitie, so shall you have no need of them: bee continent, so shall you be sought to of them: leave them to their owne lusts, they are not of the Lord. Let your garments be comely, and not costly; for a comely continent man is more esteemed of than a costly spende thrifte accompted of. It is the vertues of your mindes, the perfections of your understandinge, your intellectuall contemplations, that makes you accounted of among the wise, and beloved among the learned. In your professions be studious, for y^t brings profit: an houre well spent, is better than a dayes pleasure: eschew those things that may decay your memory, and in every good action continue to the end: trust not to apparant goodes; beleve not credulously the faire spoken; be as provident to eschew trouble, as the envious is prudent to procure your discomfort: looke on nothing that may altar you from a man; thinke on nothing that may mislead you: if you promise, performe it, but in promising use discretion. These be the fruites of experyence, learnt by some in sorrowe, and lette them bee practised by you in securitie. Let not the garish shew of a present pleasure, the sillie shadowe of an earthlye delyght, a transitorie similitude of a momentanye glorie, make you followe that which wyll coste you manye sighes and sundrye sorrowes, (when you looke into your state) and see howe you are compassed of friendes, smilde upon by fortune, beautified by nature, pe[r]fected by art, when you perceive care hath not yet forrowed your forehead. Labour even then to continue friendes, to make peace with fortune, to maintaine nature, to studye arte, and beeing freed as yet from trouble, fence your

actions so strong, as they may never become troublesome. Aurelius in his Court seeing certaine Philosophers using unseemely jestures, wagging their heads, toying wyth theyr garments, and stamping with their feete, gathering by their exteriour behaviour how unapt their actions were in respect of their precepts, expelled them the Court, as unmeete to be preferred to honours. Although not Marcus Aurelius, but wise *Saba*, now governing, think you that gracious Elizabeth cannot as well finde out a vain head under a waving feather, a dissolute minde under a codpeece dublet, a wanton thought under a straunge habite, as the Emperour under a lyght jesture. Yes, truly (Gentlemen): no doubt but that eie, that winketh at most things, seeth many, and that wonderfull capacitie, that comprehendeth so much discipline, cannot overslip the mislyke of masking braverie. If one error were as much banished England as it was in Rome, neither should idlenesse offer the covetous opportunitie, neither the idle be cousened by the covetous. It is idlenesse that maketh amorous, it is idlenesse that maketh fascionative, it is idlenesse that breedes excesse, it is idlenesse that destroyeth all humane happinesse. The eye fixed on heavenlye contemplations gazeth not on earthlie beautie; the thought occupied on remembrance of moral preceptes never vouchsafes the misdeemings of the fantasie; the bodie subdued by assiduous travaile is never altered by the motions of the flesh; the hope grounded on immortality hath not reference to an houres pleasure. So that man is never altered in himself, enemie of himselfe, procurer of his parents troubles, but even then chiefly when idlenes is predominant, folly preferred, and fashions to feed, fantasies allowed of. The meanes, then, to avoyd the Usurer's booke, is to be continent: the way to be continent is not to be idle: the reward of not beeing idle, is the daily increase of more knowledge; and the increase of more knowledge maketh a man happie. The sting of the aspe confoundeth in slumbers; the venome of idlenesse

waiteth carelesse opportunities. Truly, gentlemen, the first step to avoyd expence, is to grow in contempt of braverie, which if our noble younge youthes wold practise for a while, it would so fall out that, not onely vaine fantasies should cease, fonde fashions finde no favourers, and the Usurer, having his odde refuse commodities dead in his hand, would either affoorde better peniworths, or seeke for forreigne traffique.

But to leave you Gentlemen to your good counsailes, and returne to you, good master Usurers, whose eares glowe at the rehearsall of these enormities, I must pray you give mee leave to make up a conclusion, and to finish these fewe lines with an admonition for your cause; and though the corrections I use be bitter, account of them the better, for why, they be more cordiall. A greedie desire of gayne is the disease that infecteth you: some terme it thriftinesse, some neernesse, but in plaine tearmes, it is usurie; and that is nought els but a greedie desire of other men's goods, and this by the commandement is forbidden to be followed, and therefore irreligious are they that use it. The man that coveteth gold conceiveth not goodnesse; his appetite is of the earth, and those that are earthly minded savor not the things that are of God. What though you cloath your selves in simplicitie of doves, and your inwarde habite be worse than the voracitie of wolves, he that made you knoweth you, and he whom you offend can (and will) punish you. You wil say you were naturally borne (as Tully witnesseth) to take care for your selves, and to provide *victum et vestitum*, meate and clothing: and I graunt it; but where find you either Ethnike, prophane, or sacred sentence, to confirme your extreame hoording up of golde, yea then most earnestly when you are most rich. The laboursome ant gathereth not in excesse, but sufficient provision for the winter, yet without reason; and you which are reasonably borne, hoorde up more then orderly (at first sight) you well knowe how to

employ. You long after Nabals vineyard with Jesabel, but the dogs shall devour you in the gate: you heape house upon house, land upon land, *Quasi nunquam sit perituum sæculum*, as though this world would last ever, but sodainely shal the wrath and curse of the Lord fall upon you, and (without speedie repentaunce) he will consume you in a moment. O turne speedely unto the Lord, and put not off from daie to daie, least his wrath be hot against you, and he make you pertakers of the plagues of Chore and Abiram. Remember your olde escapes that have past you, consider of their falls that are decayed by you, and your selves, if you have anie contrition and compunction of heart, wil lament the generall misfortune with me. Did you arise of nothing? Were you calde from base degree to high estate? From poore servants wer you made rich masters? Why, your goods make answere, saying, you have more then you can well spend, and I deeme the greater your talent is, the more you have to answere for. But weigh in your selves howe this great masse of money grew unto you: you must count that this Farme came to your handes by the forfayture of such a Lease; this money became yours by the vertue of such an obligation; you have scrapte up this ready coyne by making *centum pro cento*: nay, you have undone these manye poore gentlemen onely by inriching your selfe. Too true it is, (alas! and wisdom privately bewaileth it, to looke into your crueltie and gentlemen's folly) that many houses are decayed by your meanes, and you are lords of that, which should be the portion of more profitable subjects, whose miserie driveth them to trie conclusions in all places, and both to forsake their countrey, I pray God, not to alter their conscience.

Nay, in these extremities that they are driven into, which of you either releeveth or comforteth them in their sorrowes? So farre are you (you worldlings) from lessening their miseries, as that (Perillus like) you invent new tortures to drive them from your doores, calling them vacabonds, and bride

well birdes, who, in very truth, were your best masters and setters up. But your selves, with Perillus, shall tast of the engines you have provided for others, and the Lorde shall pittie the fatherlesse, and comfort the afflicted, when that dreadfull daye shall come in which the heavens shall be opened, and the sonne of man shall come to judgement. How will the case then stand with you? shall your welth then acquite you? No, no; the Judge is not partiall: he is just in all his dooings, and true in all his sayings. In that day the horror of your conscience shall condemne you. Sathan, whom you have served, shall accuse you, the poore afflicted members of Christ shall beare witnesse agaynst you, so that in this horror and confusion you shall desire the mountaines to fall upon you, and the hils to cover you from the fearfull indignation of the Lord of hostes, and the dreadfull condemnation of the Lambe Jesus. When it shal be found out that you wer rich, yet releevd none; that you were of wealth, yet comforted none; that you rather replenished the prisons, then released the prisoner; that your life be found sawced with crueltie, and no one action savoring of mercie, the Lord shal place you among the goates, and pronounce his *Ve!* against you: he shall thunder out this sentence, Goe, you cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the divell and his angeles.

This is the reward of wickednesse, this is the punishment of crueltie: looke upon this, therefore, (you worldly minded men) and consider of these sayings: harden not your hearts, but be you converted; releve the poore, be harboursome, restore to the owner that you have wrested from him, and turne, turne, turne unto the Lord, (I beseech you) least you perish in your own abominations. And to conclude, accompt of me as your wel wisher, who for publike commoditie have opened your inconveniencies, and for brotherly amitie counsailed you to call your selves home; and, I beseech you, as speedely reclaime you from your errors, as I

doo brotherly admonish you of your escapes. How happie were I, that, haveing lesse cause, might have lesse matter to write on! and haplesse are you, if not won with these warnings, you give more occasion to be written on. Now stay you where you are, and alter your natures, and where you were accustomed to doo ill, now acquaint your selves to follow goodnes; and then it will thus fal out, that I which exclaimed upon you for your vices, will then honour you for your vertues; and where in common assemblies your name growes odious in publike audience, you maye be praised for your good life. The Lord send our gentlemen more wit, our usurers more conscience, and ungodlinesse a fall: so nobilitie shall not decay, but the sinner shall be reclaimed, and wickednes confounded.

FINIS.

THE
DELECTABLE HISTORY
OF
FORBONIUS AND PRISCERIA.

The delectable Historie of Forbonius and Prisceria.

In Memphis, (the chiefest citie of Aegypt) a place most renowned by reason of the opulencie of the princes that have governed that Monarchie, at such time as Sisimithres was head Priest of the same, and Hidaspes governour of the Province, a noble Gentleman called Forbonius (highly accounted of for his unreprouable prowesse, and among the best sort allowed of for his unspekable vertues) made his abode, whose tender yeares not yet subject to the experience of more riper judgement, (as the winding iwie about the stately oke) entangled it selfe with many amorous objects, now allowing this choice, now approving that person, straight admitting a third. But the Fates having registred his last opinion in everlasting and permanent destinie, made his manifold aspectes (as yet not stayed) to light upon one seemely impression, and to allow of but one onely paragon: yet so sealed they his opinion, as (if it be true that the gods ever were lascivious) I thinke the chiefest commaunder of the Heavens might vouchsafe of such dalliance, and be onely amorous in this, that knowing heavenly perfections to be resident in earthly substance, he would either borrow fire of Venus, to make the creature pliable, or carrie fire into the heavens from whence Prometheus first did steale lightning. Favorable was the climate, that allowing universally to all the creatures it compassed onely blacknesse, vouchsafed Prisceria (Forbonius mistres) such sweet favor, who borne of noble parents within the citie, (as of Solduvius, vizerioe of that Province adjoyning to the citie, and Valduvia, daughter and heire of

Theagines of Greece, the compartener of sorrowe with Caricleala, the straunge borne childe of the Aegyptian king) not onely match[ed] al titles of honour with exquisitenesse of proportion, but also so coupled the perfections of the minde with the proportion of the bodie, as rather nature might disdaine her industrie, not art repent her of the dowrie she had granted her. This sweet fixed comet coasted Forbonius affections, who like the careful Marriner, having (amidst the frostie night) sought for his loaden starre, and at breake of morning (his eies almost dazled with looking) found it out; so our noble young gentleman, having past over many personages with a slight over looke, at last finding out his mistres allotted him by fate, yeelded willingly unto importunitie of the Destinies, and wonne altogether to bee subject, beeing captived with fancie, hee applyed himselfe wholye to the accomplishment of his desires, and the attainment of his Mistresse favour. And for that the Goddess of love is plyable to all benignitie, as not suffering a true servitour to bee long unrewarded, it so fortunated that she prosperously furthered our noble Aegyptian in his purpose, preferring him by opportunitie to the sight of his desired pleasures: for the propinquitie of their abode was such, as that Prisceria's chamber windowe had a prospect into Forbonius garden, by which meanes, the gentleman in his meditations might beholde his Mistres, and Prisceria (beeing by the equitie of the destinies prefigured to straunge misfortune) might have occasion to looke, and seeing, might love. But as this convenience was favourable one waie, so was the frowarde disposition of the parents untoward on the other parte; for Solduvius, whether lead thereto by appointment, or driven to the exigent by some former mallice borne by the progenitors of Forbonius, had neither a lyking to the youth, nor a longing to have his daughter marryed; eyther lead by covetousnesse, for that he woulde not stresse his coffers, or by envie, for that he contemned Forbonius. Yet

what is concluded secretly amidst the heavens cannot be circumvented with man's circumspection; for Forbonius, as one which depended onely on the favour of Prisceria, though fortune had bereft him of occasion to injoy, yet would not he be severed from the benefite to behold her whom he loved; who, warmed with the same fire, in increasing his flame kindled her owne fancie, and being as willing as the other to procure remedie to her passion, with manye chaunge of colours, and sundrye sweete aspects, opened that to her servant, which he wished for in his Mistres: who, (with like sorrowes requiting everie circumstance) as one willing and borne to attempt, at such time as Prisceria solitarily solaced her selfe at her windowe, in mournfull melodye (making his lute tunable to the straine of his voice) he recorded this sonnet.

The Turtle, pleased with his she compeare,
With sweet aspects, and many a turning lure,
Describes the zeale in tearmes should well appeare,
If nature were so gracious to assure
The silly bird with speech as well as I,
Who, stopt of speech, by turnes my woes descrie.

And though perhaps my tearmes by distance be
Seajoynd from thee, I wis my mournfull mone
Doth pearce thine eares, and Eccho tells for me,
In sowre reports: would she and I were one,
For whom I live, and whom I onely love,
Whose sweet aspects my dying fancies move.

And if the aire, by yeelding calme consent,
Make sweet Prisceria privie to my suite,
Vouchsafe, deere sweet, that beautie may relent,
And graunt him grace, whom distance maketh mute:
So either hope shall make me climbe the skie,
Or rude repulse enforce my fancies flie.

Prisceria, not altogether privie to the report, yet concluding all purposes to hir owne fantasie, conceyving, by his manifolde sighes, aspectes, and motions, whereunto he applyed his actions, with a solemne sighe, as wishing him present, and a seemely bent, as requiting his curtesie, betooke hir selfe to hir pillowe, where comparing everye accident together, both of the zeale shee bare to Forbonius, and of the profer he proffered to her, she brake out into these speeches.

Alasse! (unhappie Prisceria) what untoward destinie hath befallen thee, that in thy flowring yeares and prime of beautie thou art become a thrall to uncertaine pleasure, neyther knowing from whence the error first sprong, nor by what treacles it may at last bee expelled. If it bee that nature, envying my perfections, hath allotted mee this purgatorie, that having at free becke all the benefites of Fortune, yet I should with inwarde bondes bee inchained with the holdefast of fancie, alasse! that in prefixing the torment, shee hath not proffered a remedye, or in bestowing an ulcer, hath not vouchsafed a corrasive. Howe straungely am I martyred, sillye maide that I am! that by one onelye looke have conceyved such an impression, as neyther arte can alter with medicine, nor time eate out with continuance.

Woe is mee that I love! yet fortunate am I that I hate not, for by the one I am deprived of lybertie, by the other, I shall overpasse the sorrow by surenesse. Yet are thy thoughts more favorable to thee, Prisceria, then the successe in thy love will be fortunate. Thou lovest Forbonius; and why? for his vertue: yet thy father hateth him upon olde grudges, with whom, when rancour prevayleth, what may be more lookt for then contempt and denyall? But Forbonius seeketh Prisceria's favor, not Solduvius friendship; but Prisceria cannot enjoy Forbonius without Solduvius favor. But Forbonius will by happie marriage conclude all mallice, but thy father, having an envious mind, will have a suspicious eare. Alas! why imagine I wonders in my fancy, hoping that those

destenies (which inthralld my affection) wil subject my father's resolutions; since neither reason alloweth me any probabilitie to worke upon, neither hath Forbonius any motion, as I see, to compasse ought. Well, to the satisfaction of my friend, and to the contentment of my sorrowing hart, my freend shall know my zeale, and I will continue my affection, which being begun with so wonderfull causes, must needes finish with a miraculous effect.

With these conclusions she fell a sleepe, leaving me to returne to Forbonius, who, being tormented with the same furie, and troubled with equall fancie, seeing his light to be eclipsed, I meane his Mistresse vanished, began heavily to complaine himselfe in these or such lyke termes.

Alas! you destinies, whose courses are inevitable, how fortuneth it that, in bestowing casualties in man's life, you prescribe not meanes to prevent misfortunes? and, onely beginning to fester the heart, prefixe no presidents whereby the humours may be expelled. If all things are to be referred unto an ende, what may I wel imagine of my estate? who, intercepted by all occasions, must either finish my misfortunes miserably, or desperately. O, love! justly maist thou be counted licentious, whereas thou neither proscribe limites to thy selfe to inthrall, nor meanes to thy subjects to attain libertie. But why exclaime I on him, that hath blest me with a benefit? as though the fate that made Forbonius happie in loving cannot establish his succeſſe, as that it shall not be measured by misfortune. I glorie in the benefit of my martirdome, since a certain inward hope assureth me that divine beautie cannot be sequeste[r]d from just pittie, nor a tried service in love requited with a disdainfull hate. But, foolish man that I am! how maye it be, that in seeking beautie I labour not to attaine it? and desiring to enjoy a benefit, I attempt not to make triall of my Mistresse bountie? Why, by last night's becke she vouchsafed some shew of acceptaunce, and that may as well be of reproofe as lyking.

O, Forbonius, it is a silly hope that is conceived by signes: either attempt further, or perswade thy selfe of no favour. Her father (silly wretch) envieth thee, and thinkest thou to compasse his daughter? Alas! faint hope is this, when as those that should build up doo destroy; when such as shoulde perswade doo dissuade; when as he that dooth commaunde most earnestly dooth forbid. But love hath no respect of consanguinitie, but having onely relation to him which he favoureth, delighteth onely in the possession of his choyce: yet is not Forbonius sure she loveth. Well, I see he that will be fortunate must hazard, and that man that will be gracious in his Mistresse eye, must by outward attempts and unaccustomed purposes seeke to confirme his happinesse.

Whereupon (upon sundry conclusions) he inferred thus; that the next day, by certainé rare attemptes, hee would either finish that he had so long sought for, or perish in the perfourmance of his enterprise: and the day serving to attempt that which he imagined by night, he bethought himselfe of the Gymnosophists of the countrey, among whom remembring one of singular experience and notable lerning, he resorted unto him, opening first, how he was inthrall'd by fancie, how precluded by all occasions, especially by the father's disdain; next, how some opportunitie served him; lastly, how the agony tórmented him; desiring the Philosopher, whose wisdom could see into all causes, to search out the fatall exigent of his love. Apollonius, (for so the Gymnosophist was called) having calculated the gentleman's nativité, and seeing some planets retrogate, covering the asperité of the destenies with the hidden secrecie of an artist, discoursed thus.

O, Forbonius! if, as Socrates did his golde, thou drown thy affections, it would follow that with him thou shuldest enjoy free libertie of thy selfe, and not suffer thy affects to rule thy reason. Art thou bewitched by Circes? of a humane shape hast thou gotten a beastly forme? of a man borne to

reasonable actions, wilt thou now swallow an unreasonable misfortune? If many cares be the decayers of the minde, if many sorrowes the consumers of the body, better were it by day to studie the lyberall sciences, then at such time as we shoulde imploye our selves to honourable attempts, to become unhonourably licentious. Alas, Forbonius! considering what a lover is, what a lover suffereth, what a lover seeketh, I finde the person idle minded, I finde his patience an insupportable sorrow, I finde himselfe not himselfe, in that he is unreasonable. The daily actions of a lover are discommendable, the night exclamations so odious, as that they in this convert nature, who shadowing the world with darknes, limitting each creature his rest, yet they even in that time labor in out-cries in which they shuld take convenient rest. My good friend, the gretest wisdom is to measure every attempt with his casualties, and if ought happen that may seeme impossible, to cast off the rayne, and suffer it to passe in that forme it was concluded in.

Thou lovest (Forbonius): better were it thou didst loath; for by loathing thou canst but be compted unnaturall, but by loving thou mayst fortune to be unfortunate. If all thinges be ordered by the higher powers, it is vayne, you must conclude, to infringe what is concluded on: if the destinies have appoynted that Forbonius shall not be happie in injoying Prisceria, Forbonius is not reasonable in suing for Prisceria. Unhappie Paris in Helen, though fortunate in injoying her beautie: but when love begins with a fading benefit, it endeth with an everlasting sorrow. The conclusion of a wise man must be, to yeelde to the necessitie of Fate, and to continue contented with that which cannot be altered by succession. Tell me, by the immortall Gods, my good friend, I beseech thee, what happines conceivest thou possible to follow, either in enjoying thy lady, or finishing thy love? Alas! the greatest sweete is a continuall sower, and after many unfortunate repulses, a sodain misfortune makes an ende of many a

yeares courting. I speake all this to this ende, (my Forbonius) because I would prevent that by counsell in thee, which otherwise (if thou follow thine owne lure) will be a confusion to thy selfe. Thou comest to me for counsell to compasse love, and I would confirme thee, that thou shouldest avoyd the occasions of following love. Thou wouldest by my meanes strayne arte to subdue nature, yet I labour both to direct by arte, and to suppress by nature. Truly, (my good friend) looking but to the hidden secretes of nature, I finde thee subject to manye misfortunes, and no way to be remedied but by one only vertue. Thou shalt (after long toyles) compasse that thou hopest for, yet when the greatest plesures begin to take the originall, even then shall they finde their exigent. Since, therfore, the revolutions of the hevens conclude that by onely continent forbearaunce thou shalt be disburdened of many misfortunes, I beseech thee, lette this transitorie pleasure be accompted of as it is, and finish up thy love with my counsell: so shalt thou be fortunate in preventing destinie, and continue in happines, wher too much love may make thee unluckie.

Forbonius, lead by the inconstant opinion of his young yeares, not waying the grave and fatherly counsell of Apollonius, aunswered him thus.

O, father! when the wound is given, it is ill counsayling how to avoyd the stripe, and when the heart is captivated, there can be but small recovery by counsell: how wer it possible for me to restrain that in my selfe, which the Gods could not limit in their deities? Easie it is for the whole phisition to counsell the sick patient, but when the extremitie wringeth excessively, none bideth the martirdome but the afflicted. O, Apollonius! my minde measureth not the iniquitie of fate, neyther doo I seeke limits for that, which by no direction can be exterminated from out my heart. So that, good father, rather respect my present sute, then my future discommoditie, and by your counsell make ende to

my sorrowes: whereby it will thus come to passe, that enjoying the pleasure I long wish for, I may more boldly beare the assault of froward fortune when it commeth. If it be onely death that my enemie Fate threteneth me with, let me enjoye this benefit: as for Fortune, I will be friende to her enemie, the which is the grave, and acquaynting my soule but with the onely idea of my Mistresse, thinke my selfe as happie as they that have walkt the Elisian fieldes a long space to their content.

Appollonius, willing to doo him good, yet sorrie he could not prevaile with his counsaile, at length began thus.

Since, my Forbonius, thou wilt be ruled by no counsaile, thou must be partaker of thine owne sorrowe. As for thy request, I will so satisfie thee, as not onely thou shalt at thy pleasure conceive thy Mistresse minde, but also open unto her the secrettes of thy heart, by which meanes thou shalt heerein have accomplishment of thy wish, though in so dooing thou shewe but lyttle wisdom. Whereupon, resorting to his studdie, he brought forth a mirrour of notable operation, a practicke in prospective, which delivering to Forbonius, he commended it thus.

O, my friend! I deliver thee that heere to feede thy humour which was composed to comprehend arte. In this myrrour thou maist, after thou hast written thy minde, taking the sunne beame, send the reflection to thy Mistresse eye, wherby she may as leageably read thy letters, as if they were in her handes, and by thy instructions made privie to the secrets of thy glasse, retourne thine aunswere in that very forme in which thou sendest. For the rest, I leave it to your discretions and good fortune, wishing all things to fall out as prosperously in your love as you would, and as I wish.

Our noble youth, (*in amours*) having furnished himselfe of that he sought for, repayed unto his studie, where devising in what tearmes he might sollicite his Mistres, at last he cyphered out his sorrowes in this sequell.

That fancie that hath made me thrall to thy beautie, (sweete Prisceria) commendeth my submission to thy good grace, beseeching thee to be as favourable in ministring a remedie, as thy beautie was readie to procure my thralldome. I make no resist in this my loving torment, but onely yeeld my self subject to the impression. Maye it therefore please thee (sweete Prisceria) to be as beneficial in this, as the Gods are in their bounty, who, for every faithfull intreatie, returne a gratefull satisfaction. And heerein maist thou see my faith to be stedfast, since arte it selfe serveth opportunities, and ministreth me both a meanes to open my hidden sorrowes, and thee a messenger to bewray thy silent secrets. I beseech thee (by the sweete statues that are builded for the Goddesses that is honoured in Paphos) to be as just in returning favour as I am forward in bewraying my fancie: so shalt thou have the possession of him that is by destinies appoynted thy assured beads-man, and I enjoy those pleasures in which I may be only fortunate. Till then I must write my self as I am, thy most unhappiest lover that liveth.

FORBONIUS.

This, cyphered out in faire charecters, and disposed in such termes as his fancie then prefixed him, he tooke his way into his garden, waiting some necessarye opportunitie to put his purposed attempts in practise, and to bewray his woes to Prisceria; who, wounded with the remembraunce of Forbonius perfections, and seeing no waye but his presence a meane to expell sorrowe, betooke her selfe to her accustomed prospecte, and with longing lookes she levelled at his love, which was alreadye stricken with her beautie.

The gentleman, fitted by these convenient occasions, beganne his philosophicall demonstration, and taking his aspect as necessarilye as hee might, hee presented Prisceria with his pensive submission; who, confirmed by so convenient opportunitie, betaking her selfe with all speede possible to her

studie, and by a becke charging him with no lesse dispatch to give attendaunce, she gave aunswere to his amorous intreaties with this gracious affabilitie.

The climate, Forbonius, where under I was borne, (beleeve me) either hath prefigured me the destinie to be inamoured by thee, or thee the subject that shoulde besot me: and truly heerein the working[s] of the Gods are secret, who imploy such thoughts in me, as now by thy letters I finde wrought in thee, making a unitie in both those hearts, who, by reason of parents envies, are like to finde fatall conclusions. And whereas by necessitie of fate I finde my selfe wholly captivated to thy pleasures, I doubt not but that God, whome wee honour for his brightnesse, and who by his lightening ministreth to our misfortunes, will be favourable in our proceedings. For me, if thy constancie be such as my true zeale is, I beseech thee, by the same Goddesse, to succour me, by whome I founde my selfe first intralld and made subject to thee: meane while, I will write as thy selfe, and rest as I am, the most unhappiest lover that lyveth.

PRISCERIA.

These conclusions being ministered with the same aspectes they were profered, the two poore couple had no other meanes to noate the effecte of their private joyes, but onely by silent smiles, gracious regards, and trickelyng teares, and such lyke amorous actions; each one wishing the other, either happie in possessing their delyght, or fortunate, if by death they were releved of their sorrowe: and being intercepted by the closure of the evening, they betooke themselves both of them to their restlesse pillowes, concluding upon many purposes how to finish their languishing and tormenting martirdome.

Forbonius, as one born to attempt, concluded with himselfe (considering how favourably all occasions fawned upon

him) to attempt the stealing awaie of Prisceria; who, poore soule, in carefull dreames imagining of her dayes fancies, was forestaled of all favour by the unhappie approach of her father, who furnished with all worldlye policies to prevent what he mislyked, and compasse that he suspected, perceiving by his daughter's solemne aspects some secret sorrow that troubled her, having remembred that axiome of the philosophers, that dreames are the prefigurations of dayes sorrowe, watched his time so neerely, that even at that verie instant he entered the chamber of his daughter, when, drowned in her sweet delightfull dreames, she began at his entrie to cry out thus, O, fortunate Forbonius! which her father marking verie precisely, and concluding whereupon the sigh tooke his holde fast, awaking his daughter on a sodaine, verie cunningly compassed her thus.

O, my Prisceria! let it not seeme straunge unto thee, to beholde thine aged father's unaccustomable accesse, since he is now perplexed with unacquainted feares. Alasse, my daughter! thy father, seeing thee beautifull, is not carelesse of thy comfort, neither can he that laboured to bring thee to lyght suffer thee to passe thy dayes in loathsome mislyke. At this instaunt when I entered thy chamber, in thy dreame (as me seemed) thy soule betokening (as it shuld seeme) some daies sorow or plesure, exclaimed thus, O, fortunate Forbonius! Thou knowest how hatefull the person thou diddest name is to thy father, who if he be fortunate in thy dowrie I love him: I shal esteeme him unfortunate in the favour thou wilt assure him, who, beeing a collop of my flesh, wilt not allowe of that which is loathsome to thy father. O, Prisceria! Solduvius seeth, and thy secrete dreames bewraie, that the fortunacie of Forbonius is eyther unfortunate for thy selfe, or not allowable by thy father's opinion. Thy chaunge of constitution, thy hidden sorrowe, my sweet child, made me suspitious; but now the verie true messenger of thy minde confirming me, I must without cir-

cumstance conclude that Prisceria loveth her father's enemie, that Prisceria desireth Forbonius favour, and detesteth her father's choice; which if it be so, O, my daughter! I feare me thy love will not be so favourable as my disdaine bitter. Wherefore, if thou art intangled, since thou knowest my opinion, forbear, or if no wisdom will conclude thee within limites, my displeasure shall exclude thee from out all benefit of my favour. Choose, now, Prisceria, whether with calme perswasions thou wilt yeeld to my bent, or by unaccustomed displeasure bee partaker of thy father's wrath.

Upon these conclusions, Prisceria, all abashed, shaking of the drowsinesse of her dreaming, made aunswere to Solduvius in these tearmes.

These straunge suppositions, my good father, argue the slender opinion of your self, who, by the uncertaintest signs that may be, confirme your opinion as you please. In my dreames you said I called Forbonius fortunate; and may it not bee, that as my tongue uttered that it thought not, your minde imagineth that which is not, counting everye lyght shadowe a substaunce, and every little similitude of truth an undoubted demonstration? Did I call thine enemie fortunate? Truly, father, I feare me I might justly conclude it, for he, poore gentleman, little dreameth on displeasures, when at such time as rest should occupie your sences, you most travaile in your rancour: by certaine tokens, as you saie, you conclude that I am affectionate, and by this silly conclusion of a dreame you inferre an undoubted trueth, that I am enamoured with Forbonius. And if perhaps the necessitie of the fates be such, Prisceria shall finde her selfe happie in loving Forbonius, by whose meanes her father may cease rancour, and take rest, and his daughter, satisfied with that she seeketh for, be no farther troubled with dreaming fantasies.

Solduvius, perceiving by these speeches the certaintie of his daughter's affection, as one altogether enraged, calling up

his wife, and raising his servaunts, left the silly maide all amased at his sodaine departure: whereas the olde man exclaiming uppon the disobedience of his daughter, and thundering out many revenges against poore Prisceria, caused his horses to be saddled, and perforce (contrarie to her expectation) made her bee conveyed to Farnusium, a mannor house of his owne, a place, for the solytarinesse, more fit for a Tymon, then convenient for a beautifull ladie, the onely companie there being shepheards, who upon the Vast mountaines recorded the praise of the countrie favourer, Pan, and the rurall amitie betweene them and their countrie lasses. Thus from stately Court, from the regards of her sweet friend, from the plesures that follow the citie, her companions were rurall maidens, her retinue frolicke shepherdes; whose slight capacitie not yeelding anie comfort to allaie the gentlewoman's sorrowings, made her (to her more hart grieffe) continue her pensivenesse, and sup up her conceived sorrow in silence. But to repeat the moane on the other side that amorous Forbonius made, when by certain report he had notice of his Mistres departure, were wonderfull; who beeing in himselfe altogether confounded, not knowing where to finde her out which was the onely mistres of his fantasie, Lord! with how many sighes breathed he forth his sorrowe, and compassed on everie side with dispairing joyes, in the verie same garden where tofore hee repeated his pleasures, hee in these waylefull tearmes recounted his miseries.

Alas, unfortunate Aegyptian! whose faithful affections are so immutable, as thy naturall colour is unstainable. How injurious are the destinies, that, graunting thee life, they dayly hasten thy destruction; that, vouchsafing thee plesure, they suffer it not to be permanent; that, admitting thee the benefit of beauties good grace, they deprive thee of the possession and blessing of that thou desirest. Alasse, what shall befall mee, when the glorie[s] of my eyes are dimmed? when the pleasures of my heart are determined? when she whom I love nearest is

farther off from my presence? when the injurious repulses of the father makes every attempt of Forbonius unfortunate? Wo is me! what way may I imagin to make an end of my miserie? Should I with despairing rashnesse finish up the catastrophe of my troubles? Should I, beeing bereft of her by whom I live, dispossesse my selfe of that she most doth like? Should I, in making my selfe onelye fortunate by the alaie of my sorrows, leave Prisceria to her daily mournings, both to lament my deceasure, and her froward destinie? No, Forbonius, it is but vaine quiet that is to her discontentment, who, beeing equally inthrall'd with thy selfe, will as willingly be pertaker of thy torment as thy self. But why waile I thus in feminine sorrow, when my happinesse is to be accomplished by manly attempt? Solduvius rigour hath caused Prisceria's absence, yet cannot the father's displeasure determine the daughter's love: she liveth to thy wish, Forbonius; she loveth to thy weale, Forbonius; she wilbe constant til death, Forbonius: why shouldest thou, then, leave her unsought for, Forbonius? Attempt, vain man, to seke out thine assured; let not the distance of place disanull thy good hap? Solduvius banishment is conclud'd within the limites of Aegypt, and since it is so, either Forbonius will attaine her he desireth, or revenge the unjust rigour of an injurious father.

Upon this resolution, as a man quite dispossessed of himselfe, he hasted to Apollonius, recounting unto him how all things had fortun'd, beseeching him (not without foison of teares) to seeke out by art where Prisceria was conversant, and to direct him by counsell, who altogether was confounded with dispaire. Apollonius, by exterior signs conceiving the interior heartes-griefe, and seeing the poore young gentleman martyred so miraculously, comparing times and revolutions, attained to the knowledge of her abroad, and concluding in himselfe to comfort him which almost dispaired, hee spake thus to Forbonius.

My good friend, whence groweth it that neyther the nobilitie of thy auncestors, nor thy forepassed attempts, neither the benefit of thy Mistres favour, can confirme thee, but that thou wilt be carefull for that which thou hast already almost compassed. Pluck up your heart, my sweete Forbonius, for thy Prisceria is not farre from thee. Farnusium, a mannor house of her father's, seated east out of this citie, whereas she is so circumspectly lookt into, that [not] by anie meanes, unlesse by secret and convenient pollicie, thou canst come to the accomplishment of thy desire. Thou must therefore, attyred altogether like a shepheard, depart this citie, and by some convenient meanes procure the keeping of some one farmer's sheepe which is resident among those mountaines, by whose meanes thou shalt fall in acquaintance with the garden[er] of thy Mistres, called Sotto, and, having convenient occasion to satisfie thy affection, possesse thy selfe of that thou hast long desired.

Forbonius, concluding his replie with hartie thanks, so dainly departed, and remembring himselfe of one Corbo, a tenant of his, which had his mansion house verie conveniently seated hard by the mannor house of Solduvius, he hastily shaped his journey unto him, and making him privie to that he desired, and swearing him to be constant and continue secret, he betooke himselfe to the keeping of his tenant's sheepe; and not forgetting to drive his flocke neere unto the lawnd wher as Solduvius servants grased their sheepe, he so demeaned himselfe, that not onely he attayned the favor of Sotto which he sought for, but also for his curteous affabilitie was accounted of among the whole troupe of heardsmen for the best singer and the tunablest musition, his Aeglogs were so delectable, and the delivery of them so delicate. Whereupon by good fortune it so fel out that Forbonius, under the coulourable name of Arvalio, was desired by Sotto to resort unto the mannor house, who informed him of all that hapned, telling him of the careful demeanour of his sorrowing young

Mistres, who, pleased with nothing but with solitarie musicke, pined her selfe awaie with melancholy; and not without cause, (said he) for my old master hath forbidden me the admitting of any one to her presence, not suffering her to passe the limits of my warie eie, nor allowing her to walke without the castel walles for her recreation. For my sake, therfore, chaunt her some melodie, and resort with me to a convenient arbour within our garden, whereas she, walking for her recreation, may perhaps take some delight in thy sorrowfull mournings, in that they most fit her fantasie. Forbonius, as willing to wend as he desirous to perswade, accompanied Sotto to Farnusium, wher having a place appointed him to apply his Aeglogs, and the Goddess before him whom he should devine upon, hee under these secrets described his passions.

Amidst these Mountaines on a time did dwell
 A lovely Shepheard, who did beare the bell
 For sweete reports and many loving layes;
 Whom, while he fed his flocke in desart wayes,
 A netheard's daughter, deckt with lovely white,
 Behelde and lovde, the lasse Corinna light.
 Him sought she oft, with many a sweete regard,
 With sundrie tokens she her sutes preferd,
 Her care to keepe his feeding flocke from stray,
 Whilst carelesse he amidst the lawnes did play.
 Her sweete regards she spent upon his face;
 Her countrie cates she sent to gaine his grace;
 Her garlands gaie to decke his temples faire;
 Her doubled sighs bestowd on gliding aire;
 Her pleasant kisse where she might steale a touch,
 Corinna's zeale to Corulus was such.
 He, wanton shepheard, glorying in her sute,
 These signes of zeale to folly did impute:
 Not waying of her many loving sightes,
 Her watrie eyes, her secret moane by nights;

Her carelesse comfort in her fruitfull ewes;
Her monefull Aeglogs, full of carefull shewes;
But scorning that, (which might that Godhead move,
Who in a shepheard's forme, for Jove's behove,
Did charme the watchman of the heifer faire,
For whose behoofe the thunder[er] left the aire)
He left the place where she did love to bide,
And drave his flocke another way beside:
Whose dire disdaine, (the God that kindles love,
And makes impressions straungly from above,
Misliking) strake with fancie at that stower.
The silly shepheard, wounded by his power,
Now sought for that which he tofore did shun,
And now the heate of fancie first begun
To straine a yeelding in his restlesse minde.
Such are the wounds that passe from fancie blinde,
That Corulus will now Corinna woe,
Though earst he loath'd and scorned so to dooe.
Now she that sought with many a sweete aspect,
Is sude to now by him that did neglect.
Now bountifull is sweete Corinna's grace,
Now like the sunne in welkin shines her face;
Her eyes, like Gemini, attend on Jove;
Her stately front was figured from above;
Her daintie nose, of ivorie faire and sheene,
Bepurfurate with ruddie roses beene;
Her cherie lip doth daunt the morning hiew,
From whence a breath so pleasant did insew,
As that which laide faire Psiches in the vayle,
Whome Cupide woode and woeed to his avayle.
Within the compasse of which hollowe sweete,
Those orient ranks of silver pearles doe meete,
Prefixing lyke perfection to the eie,
As silver colde amidst the summer's skie:

For whence such wordes in wisdome couched be,
As Gods from thence fetch their philosophie.
Her dimpled chin, of alablaster white,
Her stately necke, where nature did acquite
Her selfe so well, as that at sodaine sight
She wisht the worke were spent upon herselfe,
Her cunning thus was showde upon the shelve,
For in this pile was fancie painted faire.
In either hand an asure pipe she bare;
By one repeating many a sweete consent,
By other comfort to the heart she sent.
From which a seemely passage there doth show
To strangers pleasures that are plast alow,
Like to the forrowe Phæton did leve
Amidst the welkin, when he did receive
His father's charge, and set the world on fire.
In this faire path oft paced sweete desire,
At everie turne beholding with delight
That marble mount that did affect the sight.
Of virgin's waxe the sweet impression was,
The cunning compasse thereof did surpasse,
For art, concluding all perfections there,
Wrote this report, All graces bideth here.
Which Cupide spying, built his mansion so,
As scorning those sweete graces to bestoe
On mortall man, with bowe ibent doth waite,
Least Jove should steale impressions by deceit:
And, wondring at the crisped coment faire,
In thought concludes it meeter for the aire
Then mortall mould: next which the stately thies,
Like two faire compast marble pillers rise,
Whose white dooth staine the daintie driven snow:
Next which the knees with lustie bent below,
Conjoynd with nerves and cords of amber sweete,
This stately pyle with gladsome honour greete,

Such stately knees, as when they bend a lite,
All knees doo bend and boow with strange delyght.
Her calves with stronger compasse doo succeed,
In which the asure streames a wonder breede :
Both art and nature therein laboured have,
To paint perfection in her coulours brave.
Next which, the pretie ground worke of the pile
Doth shew it selfe, and wonder doth beguile,
The joyntes whereof combind of amber sweete,
With corall cords, yeeld bent to seemely feete :
From which, whose list to lift his gasing eye,
Shall greater cause of wonder soone espie.
When on the backe he bends his wavering looke,
In which the worke and taske Diana tooke,
When with Arachne for the prise she strave,
Both art and nature there excelled have :
Where from Pigmalion's image seemely white,
Where close conveiaunce passing Gordian's plight,
Where lovely nectar, drinke for all the Gods,
Where everie grace is stained there by ods,
Will, not content with gasing, looke for more,
And spie those armes that stand his sight before,
Which for their mould the Aegyptian wonders passe,
Which for their beautie staine the christall glasse,
Which in their motion maister natures sweete ;
Where blushing streames present a secrets meete,
Will, now amazde, conclude at last of this,
That in the hands all grace concluded is ;
Where Nature limits ever fatall time,
Where Fortune figures pleasure in her prime,
Whence spred those fingers tipt with ivorie,
Whose touch Medusa's turne may well supplie,
Where to conclude as now the shepheard deemes,
All grace, all beautie, all perfections seemes.

Thus Corulus with many secret thoughts
 Divines on her whom erst he set at naughts,
 And forst by scorch of inward shrowded fire,
 He seekes for her his fancie did require;
 Who, fraught with woes, in secret shrowdes renude
 Her silent griefe, unsure of that insude.
 Her Corulus with warie search at last
 At sodaine found: and as a man agast
 At that he saw, drew backe with feare, and than,
 Remembring of his woes, his sute began.
 O, sweete Corinna, blessed be the soyle
 That yeelds thee rest amidst thy dayly toyle,
 And happie ground whereon thou satest so:
 Blest be thy flocke, which in these lawnes doo go,
 And happie I, but having leave to looke.
 Which said, with feare he pawsd, and bloud forsooke
 His palie face, till she that wrought the fire
 Restorde the red, and kindled sweete desire.
 And with a bashfull looke beholding him,
 Which many months her pleasant foe had bin,
 She cast her armes about his drooping necke,
 And with her daintie fingers dawde him up;
 And kissing of his palie coloured face,
 (Like as the Gods) by touch did soon displace
 The sowre that alterd the poore shepheard's sweete,
 When thus she gan her Corulus to greeete.
 O, lovely shepheard, happie be the hower
 In which (I know not by what secret power)
 The Gods have sent thee hether to thy frend! }
 Alas, what griefe should Corulus offend? }
 Whom fairest Nimph might well a liking lend. }
 Thy grasing ewes, with udders full of milke,
 With fruitfull fleece, and wooll as softe as silke,
 Take glory in the fatnesse of this soyle,
 And prayse theyr mastres care and busie toyle,

And now accuse thee of thy drooping mone.
'Tis but enough for me to wayle alone,
For why Corinna onely haplesse is.
Poore Corulus, at last revivde by this,
Gan sighing, silence now to interrupt,
And banish feare, which did his hope corrupt.
And thus he said. O, Nymph of beauties traine,
The onely cause and easer of my paine,
'Tis not the want of any worldly joy,
Nor fruitlesse breed of lambes procures my noy,
Ne sigh I thus for any such mishap;
For these vaine goods I lull in fortune's lap.
But other greefes and greater cause of care,
As now Corinna my tormenters are.
Thy beautie, Goddesse, is the onely good;
Thy beautie makes mine eyes to streame a flood;
Thy beautie breakes my woonted pleasant sleepe;
Thy beautie causeth Corulus to weepe:
For other joyes they now but shadowes be,
No joye but sweete Corinna's love for me.
Whereon I now beseech thee, by that white
Which staines the lilly, and affects my sight,
By those faire locks whereas the graces rest,
By those sweete eyes whereas all pleasures nest,
Doo yeelde me love, or leave me for to die.
Corinna, studious for to yeeld reply,
With many teares bedewd the shepheard's face,
And thus at last she spake: O, happie place
The which the Gods appoynted for my good!
What blessed Nymph within this sacred wood
Hath pleaded poore Corinna's lawfull cause?
Or be they dreames that now my fancie drawes?
O, Corulus, ne needst thou sue to me,
Nor spend the teares for to accepted be,

Since long ere this I would have bent to bow,
 If modest feare could well have taught me how.
 In happie bonds of Himen I am thine:
 Ne plead thou grace to her that dooth incline.
 Thus with a kisse she sealed up the deed,
 When as the shepheard, glad of happie speed,
 Embracing her he had desired long,
 Gan call for grace to her he so did wrong.
 Confirmed thus with mutuall glad consent,
 They finisht up the marriage that they ment.
 Great was the day, and every field compeere
 Delighted in the pleasure of his deere.
 Poore I alone in sad lamenting layes,
 Deprived of the pleasure of my dayes,
 In carefull tunes in brieft concluding thus:—
 O, happie times, and planets gracious,
 When in a mirrour beautie did behold
 The hidden woes my muse could wel unfold,
 And with a liking looke shape some replie.
 But woe is me! since father's crueltie
 In changed formes hath altred termes of sute,
 And altering place hath made my Goddesse mute.
 Who, honouring Pan, may hap the person see,
 Whom habit strange perswades it should be me.

This delectable Aeglogue finished by the amorous Forbonius, gave occasions to Prisceria to satisfie the thoughts that then troubled her fantasie. For, confounded in her selfe, not knowing what to conclude of that the shepheard Arvalio had reported, yet welnigh perswaded that the reporter was he she liked off, with a seemely grace, not minding to incurre the lightest suspition, turning toward Forbonius, whose hand was on his half-penie, shee sayd thus.

- Gentle Shepheard, that Nymph thou lovest shuld alter from womanhood, that considering thy true zeale and exqui-

site proportions, would not requite thy loyaltie with the benefit of her love. Truly, Madame, (aunswered the imagined Arvalio) and I thinke my selfe gracious in this, that for her whom I love I am enjoyned this torment. Whereupon turning himselfe a side, and drying up the teares which should bewray his fancie, he was at last knowne by Prisceria, who, altogether amazed at the presence of Forbonius, forgetting welnie the infortunacie she was intangeled in, cast her armes about his necke, yet colouring with a seemly disdain to shadow her opinion, and blindfold subtill Sotto, shee sayde thus. Truly, Shepheard, if I may prevaile with thy mistres, thou shalt not be unrewarded for this curtesie. And, Madame, (said Forbonius) might I counsell your Ladiship, you should not sorrow for that maye be compassed at your pleasure.

This said, Sotto, taking Arvalio by the hand, tooke his leave of his young Mistresse thus: My young ladie, I, as studious of your pleasure as maye be, have brought you this young shepheard to laugh at, and if his musick like you, you shall have every day at the least a lay or two. And heerin shalt thou doo me no small pleasure, said Prisceria. And so, with a seemly regard shaping a loth departure, the two shepheards resorted to their flocks, Arvalio, altogether amazed at his Mistres beautie, and Sotto very jocond he had fitted his young ladies fancy so well: wherupon the old shepheard, turning to our solitarie and distressed Arvalio, said thus. What maks thee thus sollom, my youthly compeere? Cease to greeve thy selfe about those thinges that may be compassed: if thou love, time shal eate out that which treacle cannot, and thou shalt either be fortunate in possessing hir thou desirest, or in overpassing thy passions with good government, leave love to those that like her. Arvalio, not to seeke of curteous humanitie, gave him this aunswere. O, Sotto, it is not the love that greeveth me, but the meanes to compasse love: I labour not to attain love, but to possesse the profits of my long service in love. As for time, it may

worke wonders in them that are repulsed; but when Cupid is gracious, and occasions unfortunate, thinke you that this is not a bitter sowre? Yea, but answered Sotto, and if it be so, Arvalio, plucke up thy sprights, and doubt thou not, but if thou proove dilygent in pleasing my young Mistresse, I meane not to be idle, if I may know whom thou likest of. As for that, doubt not, said our disguised Forbonius; for since I know by thy onely meanes my love is to be compassed, I wil not stick in so slight a pleasure to profit, when as by thy meanes I may onely succor my selfe. In such lyke termes passing over their werisome walke, at last they betooke themselves each of them to the folding of their sheep, for it was welnie night, and the sunne was steeped in the ocean: wher upon Arvalio, the shepheard, becomming now Forbonius indeede, hasted him home unto his tenaunt's house, making him both privie of his happie fortune, and concluding with himselfe howe to performe that he wished for: and for that long travayle requireth some quiet, he betooke himselfe to rest, where recompencing al his night's wakings with a quiet sleep, at dawne of day he returned to his counterfeited habite unto the field, and unfolding his flocke, he drave them into those pastures that wer adjoyning to Sotto's walk; who no sooner spied Arvalio, but saluting him very curteously, he earnestly intreated him (setting all excuses apart) to go to Farnusium, and in the best sort that hee might to solace the unfortunate Prisceria; who onely wayting that occasion, commending his flocke to the over-sight of the old man, and accompanied with Saracca, the daughter of olde Sotto, he was presented to his desired within the castle, who, by the absence of Sotto, finding all occasions to serve her turne, having sent sillie Sarraca about some sleevelesse arrant, she, taking the occasion profered, said thus to Forbonius. Blest be that sweete conceipt of thine, (O my friend) which to the unfortunate rigour of my father hath adapted so convenient an end! Now maist thou with as great plea-

tures enjoye thy desired, as with deepe perplexities thou hast sorrowed in her absence. Now neither distaunce can sever us from imbracing, nor the watchfull eye of my father intercept thee of thy wish. See heere thy Prisceria, who, though the Fates worke never so contrarie, will live to Forbonius, and onely love Forbonius.

This said, with many kisses comforting him which was almost overcome with pleasaunt imaginations, she was returned this aunswere by her most assured favourer.

O, Prisceria! if overpressed with manye suspicious thoughts, if made pertaker of the infernall tortures in Phlegeton, if subject to the punishment of the daughters of Danaus, or affixed to the torture that martereth Titius, I should be confirmed by this onely benefit in opinion, and made constant in all misfortunes; yea, even to overcome the insupportable travailes of the Sisters, and be enabled with constancie to subdue all torments what so ever, by remembraunce onely of one gracious regard. It is neither thy father's rancor, sweet Prisceria, nor distance of place, nor any one occasion what soever, can either sequester me of my hope, nor thee of the possession of thy wishes. Cast off, therefore, all doubt of after dole, and assure your self, that as this plesure hath his originall this present instant, so by my meanes ere long it shalbe continued for everlasting memory. Passing the time in such like pleasures, and ministering a remedie unto each other's torments, I cannot tell whether by the iniquitie of destinie, or otherwise, Solduvius, learning out Forbonius departure, and suspicious of his forward attempts, at that very instant arrived at Farnusium, when the two amorous couple, little doubting his sodaine approach, were coasted with this sower, in midst of all their sweete, that the enemie of their plesures even then entred the castle, when as it seemed the fates had prefixed them that conveniencie and opportunitie to allaye their long sorrowing. The brute of whose advent, brought to the eares of Prisceria, Lorde! how

she was confounded in her self, how dismaide was Forbonius at that instant, how at that very time were they both astonished, when most circumspection should be had; so that scarce they had then dried up their teares, when as Solduvius entring the chamber, quicklly discovered the whole counterfaite, (for jealous eyes inflamed with rancour pretermitt nothing): whereupon the olde man at first, nothing at all deluded by the straunge habite, spying out their proceedings, laying violent hands on Forbonius, caused him forcibly to be conveyed to the strongest tower in the castle, and, tounring himselfe to Prisceria, he began thus.

O, thou wicked and ungracious mayd! degenerating from the nobilitie of thy auncestours, and led by unseemly affections, not directed by the likings of thy tender parents, in what tearmes shuld I accuse thee, or bewray my sorrowes? Woe is me, that am inforced to be an eie witnesse of mine owne sorow, and to behold that with mine eyes that I hate in my heart. Is this the reward of breeding children? Is this the benefite that is reapt by issue? Are these the pleasures that befall parentes? O, Solduvius! happie hadst thou bene, if either Prisceria had beene unborne, or thou unmarried: by the one thou shouldest have escaped this present miserie, by the other, prevented the untoward sorrow that now confoundeth thee. Is thy love to be fixed there where I hate? or shuldest thou be amorous of him who is odious to thy father? O, vile wretch, borne among the Hircan tygres, which, respecting not thy father's felicitie, overburthenest his olde yeares with unlooked for calamitie. But, if ever just Gods pittied a lawfull complaint, I doubt not but they, that minister justice to all men, wil wreak the injuries thou hast done to me.

Thus sayd, he sate down altogether confounded with melancholie. When as Prisceria, finding occasion to speake for her selfe, began thus.

Who seeketh, O father! to prevent the destinies, laboreth

in vaine, and who indeavoureth to alter nature, as he striveth against the streame, so must he perish in his owne overweening. The Gods have concluded our love, and will you, being a creature, seeke to infringe it? Alasse, my father, why should my pleasure be your discomfort? or that by which I live prove that which most you hate? Doe not you heerein breake nature, who laie violent hands on your owne flesh, and seeke to alter that by rigor that was ordained by divine instinct? O, lette your rancor overslip, (my good father) and if ever humble sute prevailed with an honourable minde, cease to hate him whom I love, and couple us both together whom the Gods having joyned in an assured league of friendship, it cannot be but injustice to alter their proceedings.

Solduvius, not able to digest the furie of his passion, nor willing to weigh of the submissive request of his daughter, interrupted her thus:—And is it not sufficient for thee (vaine wench as thou art) to passe the limites of nature, but to continue thy error too? Thinkest thou to compasse me with teares, who without sighes cannot call to memorie thy escape? No, Prisceria; both thou shalt see, and that varlet shall knowe, that my displeasure wil not be finished but with blood, nor my anger satisfied till I have confounded him who hath discomforted me. Wherupon flinging out of the chamber in a great rage, and fastening both boltes and lockes, he with his traine resorted to the imprisoned poore shepheard, his capitall enimie Forbonius, whom after he had taunted with these unjust tearmes, he proceeded further to this unjust revenge. Thou cursed and abhominable caitife, is it not sufficient by the injuries of thy father Clunamos to move my patience, but that thou in person must violate my daughter? Thinkest thou that the Gods detest not these injuryes, when as with wicked attemptes thou bewitchest the daughter, and massacrest the father? Naie, nether in justice will they pretermit the offence, nor will nature suffer me to beare with thine errour: prepare thy selfe, therefore, to

make him recompence with thy bloud, whom thou hast troubled with thy attempt.

Forbonius, confounded with sorrowe, and amazed at this austere judgement, yet remembring the nobilitie that was alwayes accounted in him, answered him thus.

Although enraged rancour hath made thee passe the limits of honour, (O, Solduvius) yet passe not so farre in thy resolutions as to staine the dignitie of thy person with the martyrdome of a guiltlesse gentleman. If I did hate thy daughter, that lyttle envye that grewe by my father's displeasure might by reason grow to deepe and rooted mallice; but when I love Prisceria, why shoulde I bee contempned of Solduvius? It should seeme that love was not accompted lothsome among the Gods, when as prefixing a punishment to all escapes, they prescribe an honour to this, chiefly concluding it to be a vertue: whereuppon thou must conclude, that eyther thou contemnest the decrees of the Gods, or measurest all thinges by thine owne malice. Thou threatnest me with death, (vaine man) and I weigh not the dissolution of my bodie; for this I assure thee, as long as I may live I will honour Prisceria, and beeing dead, my ghost shall persecute thee with revenge, and prosecute my affections towarde my best beloved. So Prisceria lyve, Forbonius careth not to dye, the onely memorie of whome shall make mee constaunt in misfortunes, and willing to withstande the brunt of thy crueltie: whereupon my conclusion is, that if Solduvius for faithful assurance wil become a friendlye allowe of Forbonius, he, which by reason of the mallice of his father had once cause to hate him, will now honour him, and that strife which separated two so noble families, shal now be finished in our happy marryage: If this like not, proceede as thou pleasest. In granting mee favour, thou shalt finde honour, in bereaving mee of lyfe, thou shalt finish all my misfortunes.

The discourse of Forbonius thus ended, Solduvius began thus, after that he had somewhat digested his cholar.

Although, Forbonius, the injuries thou hast offered me, together with former displeasures, be sufficient to continue my resolution, yet weyghing with my selfe that it is vaine to alter that which is prefixed by destinye, wonne by reason, which directeth all men, and by the tender love I beare my daughter, which shoulde prevayle with a father, I yeelde thee thy love to enjoye in chast wedlocke; and wheres thou lookedst I shoulde bee thy tormentour, loe, I am nowe contented to be thy unlooked for father. Whereuppon taking Forbonius by the hande, and conveying him to Prisceria's chamber, hee confirmed the gentleman in his former purpose, and his daughter of his assured favour, using these kind of tearmes to discover his intention: My daughter, that father that even now hainously mislikt of thy lover, now gloryeth in thy lyking, and he which whilome hated Forbonius, now vouchsafeth him his son in lawe: whereupon comfort your selves with mutuall solace, and to morrow we will to the citie to finish up the ceremonies. The two lovers, compassed with incredible pleasures, and not able to suppress the affections that possessed them but by breaking out into speech, they both humbled themselves to aged Solduvius, returning him by the mouth of Forbonius these thanks. O, noble gentleman! it may not be expressed by tongue what I imagine in heart, who by your meanes, of the most unfortunatest man that liveth am become the only happie man of the world. Notwithstanding this, in lew of all favour, I wil returne you, that both by that meanes all private quarralls shall cease betweene our two families, and you registred in our Aegyptian records for the onely peace-maker of Memphis. In these sweete speeches over passing the daie and night: the next morrow the whole traine posted to Memphis, whereas by the high Priest of the Sun they were solempnly espoused, and after many sorowes were recompensed with nuptiall pleasure.

Now, ladies and gentlewomen, I must leave this to your consideration, whether the lovers for their constancie are

more to be commended, or the olde man for his patience more to be wondered at. I leave you to fit that conclusion till you have read what is written, promising you that if my rude discourse have wrought you anye pleasure, I will both labor heerafter to serve all occasions, and so fixe my studies as they shall not farre differ from your fantasies: and thus craving you to winke at an errour, and commend as the cause requireth, I take my leave, willing to be made privie if I have anye wayes travayled to your contentment.

FINIS.

TRUTH'S COMPLAINT

OVER

ENGLAND.

Truth's complaint over England.

My mournfull Muse, Melpomine, drawe neere,
Thou saddest ladie of the sisters three,
And let her plaints in paper now appeere,
Whose teares lyke ocean billowes seeme to bee:
And should I note the plaintiffes name to thee?
Men call her Truth, once had in great request,
But banisht now of late for craft's behest.

Amidst the rest that set their pen to booke,
She pickt me out to tell this wofull tale,
A simple Poet, on whose workes to looke
The finest heads would thinke it verie stale:
Yet though unworthie to my friends availe,
I take the toile, and praie my Muse's aide
To blazon out the tale of Truth dismaide.

Such time as Phœbus from the couloured skie
Did headlong drive his horses t'ord the West,
To suffer horned Luna for to prie
Amidst the duskie darke, new raisde from rest,
As I in fragrant fields with woes opprest,
Gan walke, to drive out melancholy griefe,
Which in my heart at that time had the cheefe,

It was my hap, fast by a river's side,
To heare a rufull voice lamenting thus.
You lulling streames, even as your waves divide,

So breakes my heart with passions perillous,
Which faine I would unto the world discusse,
Were anie heere for to recount my moane,
Whose wofull heart for inward grieve doth grone.

Which sayd, she cast her dewed eyes askance,
And spying me, gan rowse her heavie head,
And praide me pen her sad and heavie chance;
And she recounted it that present sted.
I did agree, and graunting Truth me fed
With these reportes, which I set downe in vearse,
Which greeve my Muse for sorowes to rehearse.

Whilome (deere friend) it was my chaunce to dwell
Within an Iland compast with the wave,
A safe defence a forren foe to quell,
Once Albion cald, next Britaine Brutus gave,
Now England hight, a plot of beautie brave,
Which onely soyle should seeme the seate to bee
Of Paradise, if it from sinne were free.

Within this place, within this sacred plot,
I first did frame my first contented bower;
There found I peace and plentie for to float;
There justice rulde, and shinde in everie stowre;
There was I lov'de and sought too everie howre:
Their Prince, content with plainnesse, loved Truth,
And pride by abstinence was kept from youth.

Then flew not fashions everie daie from Fraunce;
Then sought not nobles novells from a farre;
Then land was kept, not hazarded by chaunce;
Then quiet minde preservd the soile from jarre;
Cloth kept out colde, the poore releevd were.
This was the state, this was the luckie stowre,
While Truth in England kept her stately bowre.

Justice did never looke with partiall eyes,
Demosthenes was never dum for golde;
The Princes eares were ope to pesant's cries,
And false suspect was charely kept in holde;
Religion flourisht, livings were not solde
For lucre then, but given by desart,
And each receiv'd, and preacht with calous hart.

Then learning was the loadstone of the land;
Then husbandman was free from shiftes of lawe;
Then faithfull promise stooode in steed of band;
The drones from busie bee no mel could drawe;
Then love, not feare, did keepe the state in awe;
Then, then did flourish that renowned time,
When earth and ashes thrust not to clime.

For as the horse well mand abides the bit,
And learnes his stop by raine in rider's hand,
Where mountaine colt, that was not saddled yet,
Runnes headlong on amidst the fallowed land,
Whose fierce resist scarce bends with anie band:
So men, reclaimde by vertue, tread aright,
Where, led by follies, mischiefes on them light.

Use masters all, use nurtereth mortall wayes;
Use, use of good, continues happie state;
Use, use of mee, made England then have praise:
But since abuse hath banisht me of late,
Alasse the while! there runnes another rate,
Which while by sad insight I looke into,
I see the want of those that have to doe.

And yet I see not Sodome: some are good,
Whose inward bowels dayly melt in mone,
To see how Britane, now in raging wood,

Hard hearted, flintie minded, all in one,
Bent to abuse, and leaving me alone,
Alonely lead, with carelesse shew of peace,
Whereas secure regard doth sinne increase.

Some, some there be whom zeale hath swallowed up,
First, blessed Prince, of whom I finde releefe,
Some noble peeres, that tast [of] errors cup,
Some godly prelates in the Church are cheefe,
Some lawiers, lead by zeale, lament my greefe.
Some merchants follow God, not swallow golde,
Some countrie swains love truth you may be bolde.

Yet as great store of darnell marres the seed
Which else would spring within a fertile field,
And as the fruitfull bud is choakt by weede,
Which otherwise a gladsome grape would yeeld,
Some sometimes wicked men doe overweeld,
And keepe in covert those who would direct
The common state, which error doth infect.

Yet Truth must never alter from his name:
Good Prince, sayd I, ye good: what of her selfe?
And that is good, for Princes that doe frame
Themselves to private good, doo subjects good;
Yet that's not that same goodnesse I would name:
Good Prince, good people, that's the good I crave,
Of Princes goods that goodnesse would I have.

For as the great commaunder of the tides,
God Neptune, can allay the swelling seas,
And make the billowes mount on either sides,
When wandering keeles his cholar would displease,
So Princes may stirre up and soone appease
The commons heart to doe, and to destroy
That which is good, or this, which threatens anoy.

For common state can never sway amisse,
When Princes lives doo leuell all a right;
Be it for Prince that England happie is,
Yet haplesse England if the fortune light,
That with the Prince the subjects seeke not right.
Unhappie state, unluckie times they bee,
When Princes lives and subjects disagree.

I know not I whence come these wayward woes,
Whose sodaine shoves portend this sodain change,
Yet dooth misdoubt such sodaine feares disclose,
As Truth this present doubts the sequell strange:
When stable head lets staillesse members range,
I feare me, as the buildings trust to sand,
So every blast will stroy with turne of hand.

When as in Court by proud contempt I see
A fashion feedes the fancies now a dayes;
When as in Court promotions passed be
By selfe opinion, oft the wise man sayes,
The turnes are strange, and favour soone decayes;
And those whom fortune windeth now a floate,
By change of favour soone may change their coate.

When as election dooth but passe by sence,
Then must I deeme the world is fed by shoves;
When garish beautie causeth vaine expence,
It seemes the man should see, but little knowes,
Repentaunce is the fruite by loving growes:
So when in Court nought but such pleasures be,
Repentaunce must ensue, we well may see.

But leaving Court, where though the bramble groes,
Yet zealous care there sets her selfe, I see,
I doo in Court but now complaine of those

Who practise that that fits not their degree,
Whose vaines by powre full oft corrected be :
But now such colours cloake each bad pretence,
That showes doo hold the wise in some suspence.

But I, poore I, though greevd at courtlike scapes,
Lamenting there the lavish vaine expence,
Have farther cause abroad to note escapes,
Where craft doth keepe true meaning in suspence,
And wily worldlings cover their pretence
With holy shapes, and in a holy coate
Dooth flattery praise those men that swim a floate.

In nobles traines who sees not strange misdeemes,
Where each dooth gape and catch at private gaine[s]
And fleece the Lord, who, though he blindfold seemes,
By oft attempts dooth barre them of their vaines ;
The painfull wretch who toiles with often paines,
He hath faire words, when flattery sucks the sweete :
Thus showes take place, and Troth's trod under feete.

In England, giftes can compasse each reproofe ;
The bad for gold may soone be counted good ;
The wicked gainer, for the state's behoofe ;
The blindest buzzard to give heavenly food ;
The faintest heart in warlikst place hath stood ;
And who gives most hath now most store of farmes,
Rackt rents the Lord with golden fuell warmes.

And Justice sore I feare by powre is led.
The poore may crie, and gladly creepe to crosse,
The rich with wealth, though wealthie, now are fed ;
The simple man now onely beares the losse ;
The lawier he the golden crownes doth tosse,
And now hath fees at will with cap and knee,
And each man cries, good sir, come plead for me.

O, sweete the time, when neither folly might
Mislead your hopes, nor alter olde decrees!
O, happie Truth, when as with sweete delight
She laboured still for conscience, not for fees!
O, blessed time, when zeale with bended knees
Gan blesse the heavens, that bent their powres divine,
The English hearts to wisdom to encline!

But now refus'd, disdain'd, and set at naught,
Inforst to seeke for rest in place unknowne,
I wayle, poore wretch, that no redresse is sought:
But well I wot my griefes are not mine owne,
Some beare a part and helpe to waile my mone,
But all in vaine: such colours now are made,
That those would mend the misse doo daunce in shade.

This said, bewetting all the place with teares,
And from her eyes expelling flouds of mone,
Her lovely lockes bespred about her eares,
She wayde her wings as willing to be gone:
And after pause she soard away anone,
And thus she said: You Ilanders, adieu;
You banisht me, before I fled from you.

Lenvoy. Beleeve me, Countrimen, this thing is true.

NOTES.

REPLY TO GOSSON.

Page 1.] As elsewhere noticed, there is no title-page to the original.

Page 3, line 10. The right M.] Here, and at page 9, line 8, "M." apparently stands for Master.

Page 3, line 13. There came.] In the original there is no division of paragraphs, which are introduced for the sake of rendering the tract more intelligible.

Page 4, line 9. Deceined.] In the original, "decuied."

Page 4, line 12. Virgil's Gnatt, and Ouid's Fley.] It is scarcely necessary to add, that this refers to the minor poems, "Culex" and "Ibis," attributed to these two Latin poets. Among the "Complaints," or minor poems of Spenser, printed in 1591, there is a translation of Virgil's Gnat.

Page 5, line 5. Dauus.] In the original, "Danus." Some obvious typographical blunders like this have been corrected, but of too little importance to be worth noticing.

Page 5, line 9. *Cirpo*.] So in the original—error for *scirpo*. This proverb, signifying, to seek a difficulty where there is none, or, a knot in a bulrush, occurs first in Lucilius—*Nodum in scirpo insane facere vulgus*. Likewise, both in Plautus and Terence, we have—*In scirpo nodum quæris*.

Page 5, line 10. Incouiences.] Probably a mistake for "incontinencies;" and line 30, "denocated" should no doubt be "devoted."

Page 7, line 16. Maximus.] In the original, "Maximinns."

Page 7, line 33. Erasmus labor in Euripides tragedies?] He translated into Latin verse the tragedies of Hecuba and Iphigenia; as Buchanan subsequently did the Medea and Alcestis.

Page 8, line 32. Tullie.] Ciceronis Orat., xxvi., 7. Pro Archia Poeta.

Page 9, line 9. What Cellarius, a learned father, attributeth to it.] It might not be easy to trace any early ecclesiastical writer of this name. The genuine reading may possibly be *Cassiodorus*, who is mentioned in

the next page. Besides various other works, he has left treatises on grammar and rhetoric. Lodge's printer has committed as glaring errors as the substitution of *Cellarius* for *Cassiodorus*.

Page 10, line 7.] Hiroaldus should probably have been Beroaldus. Philip Beroaldus, an eminent scholar, published, at Bologna, in 1488, "Annotationes in varios Auctores." These are included in a later publication from the Ascensian press, "Annotationes doct. Virorum in Grammaticos, Oratores, Poetas," &c. Paris. 1512, folio.

Page 11, line 1. A well of the Muses, which Cabelimus calleth Porum.] This passage, as it now stands, is utterly unintelligible: but it is not perhaps improbable that Lodge wrote, "which Caballinus calleth Persius;" that is, which Persius calleth Caballinus, in the first verse of his prologue:

"Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino."

Page 14, line 1. Tirthæus pollicy.] Meaning Tyrtaeus, the Greek elegiac poet.

Page 16, line 3. A silly Tirthetus.] Silly, or feeble, as applied to Tyrtaeus, who is described as being short of stature, lame, and blind of one eye. In the war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, the former, having consulted the oracle of Delphi, were promised victory, if they obtained a General from Athens: Tyrtaeus was in derision sent to them by the Athenians, but his martial strains so animated the Spartans, that the Messenians were reduced to subjection.

Page 19, line 32. I must play the Musitian right nolesse buggs now come in place but pauions and mesures.] This is unintelligible nonsense. Mr. Collier has ingeniously suggested the right reading to be, "no loose jiggs," as contradistinguished from "pauions" (pavins) and "measures," which were slow country-dances.

Page 21, line 9. Cretensis.] Error for Cretenses.

Page 21, line 11. Yf Boetyus fitten not.] "Fitten" seems to be a misprint for "feign." The passage here referred to by Lodge occurs in the treatise by A. Manl. Sev. Boethius, *De Musica*, lib. i.—"Tanta igitur fuit apud eos Musicæ diligentia, ut eam animos quoque obtinere arbitrarentur. Vulgatum quippe est, quam sæpe iracundias cantilena represserit, quam multa vel in corporum, vel in animorum affectionibus miranda perfecerit. Cui enim est illud ignotum, quod Pythagoras ebrum adolescentem Taurominitanum sub Phrygii modis sono incitatum, spondeo succinente reddiderit mitiorem et sui compoten. Nam cum scortum in rivalis domo esset clausum, atque ille furens domum vellet amburere, cumque Pythagoras stellarum cursus (ut ei mos nocturnus erat) inspiceret, uti intellexit sono

Phrygii modi incitatum, multis amicorum admonitionibus a facinore noluisse desistere, mutari Modum præcepit atque ita furentis animum adolescentis ad statum mentis pacatissime temperavit." (*Opera*, p. 1064. Basilæ, 1546, folio.)

Page 21, line 17. With the foote *Spondeus*.] Sir Walter Scott, in republishing Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, in vol. iii. of his edition of the *Somers' Tracts*, has added a few notes: in one of these, where the author speaks of the effects produced by music, he says—"This is a very whimsical anticipation of the arguments of the learned Cornelius Scriblerus in favour of ancient music: 'Did not Pythagoras stop a company of drunken bullies from storming a civil house, by changing the strain of the pipe to a sober *spondæus*? and yet your modern musicians want art to defend their windows from common nickers. It is well known that, when the Lacedæmonian mob were up, they commonly sent for a Lesbian musician to appease them, and they instantly grew calm as soon as they heard Terpander sing: yet I don't believe that the Pope's whole band of music, though the best of this age, could keep his Holiness's image from being burned of a 5th of November.'" (*Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, chap. vi.)

Page 21, line 20. As the magnetes draweth iorne [iron], and the Theamides driueth it away.] See note to page 57.

Page 23, line 11. *Te tigeris*.] Typographical mistake for *tetigeris*.

Page 24, line 12. Jodocus Badius.] An "eminent printer, scholar, commentator, and critic." (Dibdin's *Bibliogr. Decameron*, vol. ii., p. 115.) Badius Ascensius commenced his career as printer at Lyon, towards the close of the fifteenth century, and afterwards removed to Paris. The books from his press are usually distinguished with a woodcut of the interior of a printing-office, and the inscription, "*Prelum Ascensianum*." His notes on Terence are included in the edition printed at Strasburg, 1496, and in later impressions. He published an edition of Horace in 1503.

Page 24, line 34. *Comedia*, &c.] This definition, as Gosson specially takes notice of in his "*Playes Confuted*," does not occur in Cicero. His words are: "Yonge Master Lodge, thinking to iett upon star-toppes, and steale an ynche of his hight by the bare name of Cicero, allegeth from him, that a Play is *the School-mistresse of life; the lookinge glasse of manners; and the image of trueth*. But finding him selfe too weeke in the knees to stand it out, neither alleadging the place where Tullie saith it; nor bringing any reason of his owne to prove it; hee flittes from this to the Etymologie of Plaies, from thence to the inventors,

and so gallops his wisdom out of breath. It seemeth that Master Lodge saw this in Tullie with other folkes eyes, and not his owne. For to my remembrance I never read it in him, neither doe I thinke that Master Lodge can shewe it me.....But because Master Lodge will needes father these wordes upon Tullie that never spake them, I will first sette downe the matter, and the persons of both kindes of playes, then rippe up every part of this definition, that you may see how this Gentleman, like the Foxe at the banquet of the Storke, lickes the outside of the glasse with an empty stomacke, when his heade will not suffer him to enter in.Master Lodge, finding some peevish index or gatherer of Tullie to be a sleepe, is very wel contented to winke for company, and thinking his worde so currant to goe for payment, woulde gladly persuaue us upon Tullies credite that a Play is *the Schoolmistres of life*. Wherein I perceive hee is no changeling, for hee disputeth as soundly, being from the Universitie and out of exercise, as hee did when hee was there, and at his booke," &c. (*Playes Confuted*. Sign. C 4., C 5, C 8.)

Page 25, line 6. Susarion Bullus, and Magnes, to auncient poets.] "To" is an evident mistake for "two." Susario, born in the Megarenian territory, "primus omnium versibus comœdias docuisse creditur." (Meineke, *Historia Critica Comicarum Græcorum*, p. 18.) In reference to the history of Magnes, see Meineke, p. 29.

Page 28, line 15. "Wrighters," for writers; line 23, "verdit," for verdict; and line 26, "fet," for fetched, derived.

Page 28, line 31. I should preferr Wilson's.] Mr. Collier, from this passage, concludes that a play on the subject of Cataline's Conspiracy was written by Robert Wilson, a player and dramatist. (*Annals of the Stage*, vol. i., xxxii.; vol. iii., 93, 246.)

Page 30, line 8. The alters of peace.] In the original, "theatters of peace."

Page 31, line 12. Silius Italicus.] In the original, "Siluius Italicus."

Page 31, line 24, Candida, &c.] In one of his later tracts, Lodge quotes this line from Ovid, with this translation:—

"Peace is for men, and wrath for fellow beasts."

Wits Miserie, &c., 1596, p. 70.

ALARUM AGAINST USURERS.

Page 47, line 7. Our youth, which was fligge, is now at leake.] Evidently meaning, who was flush with money, is now exhausted, or left bare. *Fligge*, properly, is fledged. Thus Peele, in his "Edward the First:—

"Baliol shall live; but yet within such bounds,
That if his wings grow *flig*, they may be clipt."

Works, by Dyce, vol. i., p. 180.

Page 57, line 28. As the Theamides of Aegypt.] "There is another mountain in the same Ethyopia, and not far from the said Zimiris (for so they cal the sandy region of Ethyopia), which breedeth the stone Theamedes, that will abide no yron, but rejecteth and driveth the same from it." (Holland's Pliny, vol ii., p. 587.)

Page 65, line 14. Thus by collusion.] In the "Looking Glass for London and England, written jointly by Lodge and Greene, a Usurer is brought upon the stage, giving bribes to the Judge and opposite Counsel, in order to obtain a decree that a Client had forfeited his recognisance on his land; and the following paragraph is worked up skilfully—the said Client having granted a receipt or assurance for forty pounds, "Whereof I received ten pound in money, and thirty pound in lute-strings, whereof (he says) *I could by great friendship make but five pounds.*" Here, in the Alarum, the sum said to be received for thirty pounds' worth of lute-strings was four nobles.

Page 71, line 7. The funerall epitaph of the universities.] Alluding to the custom of publishing a series of Funeral elegies by the members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, upon the death of persons of distinction.

Page 71, line 18. Savanarola of Rome.] The person here mentioned is obviously to be distinguished from Savonarola, Prior of the Convent of St. Mark, at Florence, whose denunciations against the Court of Rome led to his death, in 1498. See Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. ii., p. 309.

Page 72. The two lines at the foot of this page are quoted from Ovid:—

Principiis obsta: sero medicina paratur,

Cum mala per longas convaluere moras.

Remedia Amoris, lib. i., l. 91.

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AN
APOLOGY FOR ACTORS.
IN THREE BOOKS.

BY
THOMAS HEYWOOD.

FROM THE EDITION OF 1612, COMPARED WITH THAT OF
W. CARTWRIGHT.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.



LONDON:
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INTRODUCTION.

IN the cursory sketch of the various publications for and against the Stage, between the years 1578 and 1633, which precedes our reprint of Gosson's "School of Abuse," we had occasion to mention Thomas Heywood's "Apology for Actors." It is not only the most complete, but the latest regular defence of the profession, prior to the closing of the theatres on the breaking out of the Civil War. There was a pause in the literary contest subsequent to the appearance of Dr. Rainolde's "Overthrow of Stage Plays," 1599, (some copies bear the date of "Middleburgh, 1600,") and the immediate motive for the publication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors" in 1612 is not stated in the tract itself, nor elsewhere. Sir Edward Coke, indeed, in his "Charge at Norwich" in 1607, (printed by N. Butter in that year) had complained of the manner and degree in which "the country was troubled with stage-players," and denounced them from the bench; but his reference was to actors in the provinces, who had no "commission" from the crown, nor license under the hands of any of the nobility; and it may be asserted that for some years before Heywood's "Apology" came out,

the theatres of the metropolis had been flourishing and unmolested, and had enjoyed peculiar patronage from the crown.

It was, possibly, this very state of affairs which induced Heywood to put forth his tract: the Puritans were silent, actors were prosperous, the court was favourable, and a general vindication of the profession of the Stage, as an excuse for the public and private encouragement it received, would not be unwelcome at such a juncture.

We have it on his own evidence in his "Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas," 8vo., 1637, that Heywood was a native of Lincolnshire. In the succeeding tract he notices "the time of his residence at Cambridge," and William Cartwright, (of whom we shall speak hereafter, and who reprinted "The Apology for Actors" just before the Restoration) asserts that Heywood was "a fellow of Peter House." This statement is probably correct, and nearly all his extant works display like that before us, extensive general reading, and considerable classical attainments. In what year Heywood came to London we have no account; but on the 14th of October, 1596, a person, whose name Henslowe spells Hawode, had written "a book," or play, for the Lord Admiral's Company. On the 25th of March, 1598, we find Thomas Heywood regularly engaged by Henslowe as a player and a sharer in the company, but not as "a hireling," or mere theatrical servant receiving wages, as Malone mistakenly asserted. (Shakespeare by Boswell, III., 321). From this date, at all events, until the death of Queen Anne, the wife of James I.,

Heywood continued on the stage ; for in the account of the persons who attended her funeral he is introduced as “ one of her majesty’s players.” He wrote an ode upon her death, but he did not print it until five years afterwards as part of a much larger volume. After quitting the Lord Admiral’s Company, on the accession of James I., Heywood became one of the theatrical servants of the Earl of Worcester, and was by that nobleman transferred to the queen. “ I was, my lord,” (says Heywood in the dedication to the Earl of Worcester of his “ Nine Books of various History concerning Women,” fo. 1624) “ your creature, and amongst other your servants, you bestowed me upon the excellent princesse Q. Anne, * * * * but by her lamented death your gift is returned againe into your hands.”

Between 1596 and 1638, he was a most voluminous playwright. When he published his “ English Traveller,” in 1633, he stated in a preliminary epistle, that he had written the whole, or parts of no fewer than two hundred and twenty dramatic pieces ; of which, however, not more than twenty-three passed through the press. In the address “ to the judicial reader,” prefixed to his “ Apology for Actors,” 1612, he observes, “ my pen hath seldome appeared in the presse till now ;” but this assertion must be taken with some qualification, and with reference, perhaps, to the many works which he had written, and which up to that year had not been printed. His earliest known work with a date is his “ Edward the Fourth,” a play in two parts, which was originally published in 1600. In 1605, another play

by him, called "If you know not me, you know Nobody, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth," was printed: the second part of the same piece came out in 1606. His "Fair Maid of the Exchange" and his "Woman killed with Kindness" appeared in 1607, and his "Rape of Lucrece" in 1608. These were dramatic works; but in 1608 he put forth a translation of Salust, with a long and laboured preface "Of the choice of History;" and in 1609 appeared a heroic poem in stanzas, under the title of "Great Britains Troy." His "Golden Age," a play, was printed the very year before his "Apology for Actors." Thus we see that his "pen had appeared in the press" nine times before he wrote in 1612.

In the same spirit of allowance we must, probably, receive another of Heywood's statements, in the course of the work now presented to the Members of the Shakespeare Society:—we allude to what he says on page 16, that he is "the youngest and weakest of the nest wherein he was hatched." In 1612 he had been, at least, fourteen years on the stage, and must have been more than thirty years old. That there were many older, as well as better actors, then living, we need entertain no doubt; and these he must have had in his mind when he used the expression we have above quoted.

No complete list has ever yet been formed of Heywood's different productions, dramatic and undramatic, in verse and in prose. Reed attempted it in the edition of "Dodsley's Old Plays," printed in 1780, and made several blunders, such as attributing works by

Munday, Chettle, and Drue, to him; but much information has, of late years, been procured from sources with which Reed was not acquainted. The Shakespeare Society is preparing to print the most curious and valuable of these sources, "Henslowe's Diary," which relates to theatrical transactions in London for seventeen years subsequent to the spring of 1591. When it is published it will be seen that Heywood was engaged upon several plays, regarding which we have no other information. Until then it would be useless to attempt any exact enumeration of the varied and interesting productions of his pen. For their rarity, perhaps, we may notice his "Marriage Triumph," 1613, on the union between the Prince Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth; and his "Elegy on the Death of James I., 1625. In the last he informs us that, at one time (the date is not given) he had been the theatrical servant of the Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare. Heywood also wrote all the known pageants for Lord Mayor's Day, between 1630 and 1640, when they ceased for some years to be exhibited.

We know nothing of the later incidents of his life beyond those furnished by the publication of his many works, the last, perhaps, being "The Life of Ambrosius Merlin," which came out in 1641. In that year he is mentioned in some verses inserted in "Wit's Recreations," having reference principally to his "Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels," which had appeared in 1635. When he published that collection of his minor pieces, called "Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas," in 1637, he was evidently in considerable

pecuniary distress, and he seems to have sustained a long contest with poverty, not terminated until his decease. In 1648, in the "Satire against Separatists," he is spoken of as if he were still alive; and this seems to be the last trace of him. If he died in that year, he just outlived the issue of the notorious "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament," for the entire suppression of theatrical amusements.

William Cartwright's republication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors," shortly prior to the Restoration, has been already noticed. That republication has no date; but the late Mr. Douce, whose evidence on such a point is generally to be taken as conclusive, in his "Illustrations of Shakespeare," I., p. 300, tells us that it was printed in 1658. Cartwright was at this period a bookseller; but he did not intend that Heywood's tract should appear to be a mere reprint: he therefore altered the title of it, and called it "The Actor's Vindication;" and in the dedication to the Marquess of Dorchester, he states that the author had written it "not long before his death." The object was to give the work a more modern air, and greater weight of authority, than it would have possessed had Cartwright stated that it originally came out forty-six years before he revived it. For the same reason he modernized the style in several respects, gave only the initials of the "friends and fellows" of Heywood, who in 1612 had signed their laudatory lines at length, and inserted a passage in praise of Edward Alleyn, and speaking of him as dead, which Heywood could not have written

in 1612, because the subject of the eulogium did not die until fourteen years afterwards.

“Among so many dead,” says Heywood, “let me not forget one yet alive, in his time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Alleyn;” to which, in 1658, Cartwright, omitting “one yet alive,” added as follows: — “who, in his lifetime, erected a College at Dulwich for poor people, and for education of youth. When this College was finished, this famous man was so equally mingled with humility and charity, that he became his own pensioner, humbly submitting himself to that proportion of diet and clothes which he had bestowed on others, and afterwards was interred in the same College.” The expression by Heywood, in 1612, that Alleyn, “in his time,” was “the most worthy,” shews that he certainly had retired from the stage before that year.

An actor, of the name of William Cartwright, belonged, in 1613, to an Association of Players with which Henslowe was connected; and, as has been shown in the “Memoirs of Edward Alleyn,” p. 153, he was often one of the guests of the Founder of Dulwich College between the years 1617 and 1622. He was in all likelihood the father of the William Cartwright who, just before dramatic performances were recommenced, but while the theatres were still closed, was a bookseller, but who had no doubt been an actor prior to the breaking out of the Civil War, and certainly was so for many years after the Restoration. Downes frequently introduces his name in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, as one of the King’s Company, as-

sembled immediately on the return of Charles II. He was Corbachio in "Volpone," Morose in "Epicœne," Mammon in "the Alchemist," Brabantio in "Othello," and Falstaff in the first part of "Henry the Fourth," besides filling many other parts in modern plays. He continued on the stage after the union of the King's and the Duke's Companies in 1682, and died in 1687, leaving his books, pictures, &c., to Dulwich College, where his father had been so often hospitably received, and of the benefits of which institution he must himself have been a witness.

At the time of his death two persons, named Francis and Jane Johnson, husband and wife, lived with Cartwright as servants, and had done so for about seventeen years. They seem to have taken possession of all his personal property, including plate, pictures, books, and 490 broad pieces of gold. Proceedings in Chancery were accordingly instituted against them by the Master, Warden, Fellows, &c., of Dulwich College, about the year 1689, and Francis Johnson was thrown into prison, where he remained for two years. These facts, and some others of a singular nature, and quite new in the life of Cartwright, are contained in what forms the commencement of the answer of Francis and Jane Johnson to the bill filed by the College, preserved among the archives at Dulwich. The conclusion of the document is unfortunately lost, but that portion which remains seems to contain nearly all the particulars of the case, and we subjoin it as a curious relic relating to the biography of a very eminent performer, one of the

last disciples in what may be termed the School of Shakespeare.

“ The joint and several Answers of Francis Johnson and Jane his wife, Defendants to the Bill of Complaint of the Master, Warden, Fellows, six poor Brethren and six poor Sisters and twelve poor Scholars of Dulwich College, otherwise called the College of God’s Gift, within the parish of Camberwell in the county of Surry, Complainants.

“ The said Defts and either of them, saving and reserving to each other all due benefit and advantage of exceptions to the incertainties and insufficiencies of the Complainants bill of complaint, for answer thereto, or so much thereof as concerns them or either of them to make answer unto, they answer and say as followeth—And first this Deft Francis Johnson for his part saith that he cannot more fully or particularly make answer to any the matters or charges of the Comp^{ts} bill laid to his charge, then within and by his former answer by him put in thereto is already set forth and expressed ; for he saith that he did not intermeddle with any part of the personal estate of William Cartwright deceased, in the bill named, otherwise then is hereinafter set forth in his this Defts wife’s answer, she being the only person generally entrusted by the said Mr. Cartwright to look after and take care of his concernes at home. And this Deft was employed as his servant to look after his affairs in their Ma^{ties} playhouse and to receive his, the said M^r Cartwright’s, allowance out of the profits of the said playhouse, he being one of the Players there, and to pay the same unto him, which he accordingly did for about the space of 17 years that he lived with him as his servant, and was by agreement to have had from his said Master an allowance of £15 per Annum during the time he lived with him ; but saith there was about 5 years arrears of the said allowance due to this Deft at the time of the decease of the said William Cartwright. And the said Jane Johnson for her part saith, that the said William Cartwright departed this life about the middle of December, 1687, being then possessed of divers goods, household stuff and other personal estate, which he had in the house wherein he died situate in or near Lincolns Inn Fields in the County of Middx hereinafter mentioned. And

farther saith that in or about the month of January then next, that the Sheriffs officers of the said County, by virtue of some authority, as they alleged, and by the directions of the Comp^{ts} as this Deft hath been credibly informed [did] seize and take away, not only most of the goods in the said house (save what is hereinafter mentioned) and carried them away and never returned the same, but also took and carried away divers goods and apparels of these Defts which are hereafter named, vizt. some new linen cloth, some part thereof being cut out for divers uses, both which, as well the cut as otherwise, they took away, being of the value of £5 and upwards, as also divers wearing apparel of her, this Deft and her said husband, worth about £10; and did also take away two beds, a fine fleeced wool blanket and two large chests, together with a trunk and box both full of linen, as likewise a jack, fire irons, andyrons, tongs and fireshovel, as also a roasting iron, several joint stools, a large Indian bason and jug, with divers other things, and the which goods were never appraised by the said officers nor ever returned again to these Defts, nor to any other person or persons for their use, or any recompence or satisfaction for the same. And as to the goods of M^r Cartwright which came to this Defts possession, and were by her disposed of, and which are all the goods of him and that he died possessed of that ever came to the custody of this Deft or her said husband to her knowledge or belief, or into the hands custody or power of any other person or persons for their or either of their use or uses, which are as followeth, viz two silver tankards, gilt, which she pawned for £4 a piece, and which were disposed of by the Pawnbroker, in regard the money lent thereupon, and the interest demanded, did amount, as the Pawnbroker pretended, to the intrinsic value of the said plate: one small amber box or cabinet which this Deft did pawn for 40s. and believes it is not worth much more: six books of prints which she sold for £3: six volumes of play books, which she sold for 20s.: several small pictures which she sold for 15s.: a Turkey carpet which she sold for about 13 or 14s.: a pair of old decayed brass candlesticks and brass fire irons sold at 6s. 8d. And this Deft doth verily believe in her conscience, and is well assured that there was no other or further benefit made of the said goods in any manner of way whatsoever than before mentioned. And this Deft confeseth that

there came to her hands and custody 490 broad pieces of the gold of the said M^r Cartwright, out of which this Deft paid for the burying of the said M^r Cartwright about the sum of £33 : paid for rent arrear owing by him £5 10s. 0 : paid M^r Austin the victualler for a score of beer and ale £4 12s. 0*d.* : paid to his milkwoman £1 19s. 3*d.* : paid for his score at the Tavern £1 2s. 0*d.* or thereabouts : paid his washerwoman a guinea. And further this Deft saith that she and her said husband did constantly live with the said M^r Cartwright as his servants for the space of 17 years and upwards, during all which time he did agree to allow unto this Defts said husband at the rate of £15 per ann. as is hereinbefore specified. And this Deft doth verily believe that there was 4 or 5 years arrears of wages due to her said husband at the time of the death of their said Master ; and likewise saith that the said M^r Cartwright did agree to give and allow unto her this Deft the sum of £10 per ann. for 12 of the 17 years, and to allow her £13 pounds for the last 5 years, in regard this Deft during the said 5 years undertook all the work of the house without an under servant, which before that time had been kept ; but yet this Deft could never receive any money from him or other satisfaction for her said wages during all his life time ; and saith that her whole wages for the said 17 years was wholly unsatisfied to her at the time of M^r Cartwright's death, and [he] did from time to time excuse the payment thereof, pretending that he would when he died leave all his estate to this Deft and her said husband, withall declaring that he kept nothing from this Deft, and that she had all or most of his estate in her hands and power, and what would she desire more of him, or words to that or the like purpose : and he by such insinuations and promises did from time to time keep off this Deft from receiving any part of her wages, notwithstanding she was a continual slave to him and seldom suffered to go abroad, for that when he was at home he required the Deft to give him diligent and constant attendance there, being aged and often infirm, and when he was abroad he would not trust any person in his house besides this Deft, by reason of which confinement this Deft could not have time for near 17 years together to go to Church to serve God. By all which it is very manifest that this Deft had a very uncomfortable living during all her service with her said Master, whenas when she was prevailed with to come and

live with him as his housekeeper, she was in a good way of living, using the trade of a button maker, by which she did make considerable profit. And this Deft moreover saith that her said Master, towards part of satisfaction of the kindness intended her, this Deft, and her said husband for all the service and slavery aforesaid, did some time in his life time execute some deed in writing, whereby he did (as these Defts are advised) settle the sum of £16 per ann., chargeable by way of annuity or rent charge out of some houses in or about the city of London, to be payable to this Deft and her said husband during their lives and the life of the longer liver of them; and they did accordingly receive the said rent for some small time after the death of her said Master, and until about Midsummer 1689, at or about which time the Compl^{ts} did (as this Deft is informed) obtain some order of this honourable Court whereby to restrain this Deft and her said husband from further receiving the said rent of £16 per Ann: but for what reason, and whether the said order be still in force or not, this Deft knoweth not. And matters thus standing, and there having been very hot prosecutions in this honourable Court and elsewhere against her and her said husband by the Compl^{ts}, and they having caused him to be imprisoned did remaine a prisoner for about the space of two years. And this Deft saith that a great number of the said broad pieces were expended in paying the debts aforesaid of her said Master, and in defending of the suite aforesaid, as also in maintaining her husband in prison during the time aforesaid and procuring his enlargement, and likewise in maintaining these Defts with meat and drink and other necessities ever since the payment of the said annuity hath been kept from them, being about 4 years and an half since. And this Deft further likewise saith that some yeares since, she finding that all the said broad pieces (except 140) were by the means aforesaid spent and consumed, she did deposite the same in the hands of one M^r Nicholas Archibold, her counsell, desiring that he would treat with the said Compl^{ts}, and endeavour to persuade them (having consideration to these Defts payments, troubles and expenses aforesaid) to accept of the said 140 pieces in full satisfaction for all such part of the several estate of her said Master as came into these Defts hands, or used words to that purpose, and her said Counsell did upon reception of

the said pieces promise so to do, but having once got possession thereof, he did still put this Deft off with some pretence or other, and so still neglected to proceed therein and did ”—[*cætera desunt*].

The precise result of this suit in Chancery does not appear from any document we have been able to consult, but it is certain that Dulwich College obtained most of the books and pictures which had belonged to Cartwright: the latter have, we believe, been preserved, the most valuable being the portraits of Burbage, Field, Bond, Cartwright, and some others of the same class; but the books, consisting mainly of old plays (such probably as the six volumes mentioned in the preceding Answer, which Mrs. Johnson sold for 20s.) have almost entirely disappeared. The late Mr. Malone was lucky enough to induce the Master, Warden, and Fellows to exchange the old Plays for old Sermons, and the old Plays now form the bulk of the Commentator's collection at Oxford. One of the books left by Cartwright to the College, and still preserved in the library, is a copy of his republication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors."

Among other remarkable points adverted to in that work is one which has of late attracted considerable attention, in consequence chiefly of a very interesting and ingenious letter from Mr. W. J. Thoms to Mr. Amyot, the Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, published in the New Monthly Magazine for January, 1841. Professor Tieck, of Dresden, first started the notion that a company of English Players, having found their way into Germany, performed English plays in different towns, which never were printed excepting in

German versions. Heywood's "Apology for Actors" puts the matter beyond doubt, that several companies of performers from this country were retained on the continent, under royal and noble patronage, late in the sixteenth, and early in the seventeenth centuries. It is not necessary here to enter into particulars, because they will be found inserted hereafter. We only allude to them as a singular confirmation of a modern theory; and Mr. Thoms has undertaken to furnish the Shakespeare Society with translations of four German Dramas, taken, as he supposes, from old English plays not now known to exist, but which Shakespeare employed more or less in the composition of some of his works.

We have evidence that Heywood was for many years engaged upon a collection of the Lives of Poets of his own day and country, as well as of other times and nations. It would of course have included Shakespeare, and his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries; and it is possible that the MS., or part of it, may yet lurk in some unexplored receptacle. Richard Brathwayte, in his "Scholars' Medley," 1614, gave the earliest information of Heywood's intention to make "a description of all Poets' lives;" and, ten years afterwards, in his "Nine Books of various History concerning Women," Heywood himself tells us that the title of his projected work would be "The Lives of all the Poets, modern and foreign." It was still in progress in 1635, when "the Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels" came out, on p. 245 of which work we meet with the following passage:—"In proceeding farther I might have forestalled a work, which hereafter (I hope) by God's

assistance to commit to the public view; namely, the Lives of all the Poets, foreign and modern, from the first before Homer, to the *novissimi* and last, of what nation or language soever."

The manner in which he would probably have treated the subject makes us still more regret the loss of his collection of the Lives of the Poets; and we may judge of that manner from the terms in which he speaks of his great contemporaries in the body of the work just quoted, p. 206. What he says of them affords a curious proof of the kindly and familiar footing on which they lived with each other, and, as the passage is little known, we shall venture to quote the whole of it.

"Greene, who had in both Academies ta'ne
Degree of Master, yet could never gaine
To be call'd more than *Robin*; who, had he
Profest aught save the Muse, serv'd and been free
After a seven-yeares' prenticeship, might have
(With credit too) gone Robert to his grave.
Marlo, renowned for his rare art and wit,
Could ne're attaine beyond the name of *Kit*,
Although his Hero and Leander did
Merit addition rather. Famous Kid
Was called but *Tom*. *Tom* Watson, though he wrote
Able to make Apollo's selfe to dote
Upon his Muse, for all that he could strive,
Yet never could to his full name arrive.
Tom Nash (in his time of no small esteeme)
Could not a second syllable redeeme.
Excellent Bewmont, in the foremost ranke
Of the rar'st wits, was never more than *Franck*.
Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill
Commanded mirth or passion, was but *Will*;

And famous Johnson, though his learned pen
Be dipt in Castaly, is still but *Ben*.
Fletcher add Webster, of that learned packe
None of the mean'st, yet neither was but *Jacke*.
Dekker's but *Tom* ; nor May nor Middleton ;
And hee's now but *Jacke* Foord that once was John."

We can figure to ourselves no higher prize, of a literary kind, than the discovery of the MS. of the lives of such men by such a man, who would probably have given us their great characteristics and individual peculiarities, and have dwelt with fond detail upon the scenes of their early and social intercourse. Let us hope that the labours and researches of the Shakespeare Society, and of those who are anxious to promote its objects, may hereafter bring some such materials to light.

AN
A P O L O G Y
F O R A C T O R S.

Containing three briefe
Treatises.

1. *Their Antiquity.*
2. *Their ancient Dignity.*
3. *The true use of their Quality.*

Written by Thomas Heywood.

Et prodesse solent et delectare—

LONDON:
Printed by *Nicholas Okes.*
1612.

To the Right Honourable Edward, Earle of
Worcester, Lord of Chepstoll, Ragland, and
Gower, Knight of the most Noble Order
of the Garter, Maister of the Horse,
and one of the King's most
Honourable Privy
Councel.

KNOWING all the vertues and endowments of nobility, which florisht in their height of eminence in your Ancestors, now, as by a divine legacy and lineall inheritance, to survive in you, and so consequently from you to your truly ennobled issue (Right Honourable), I presumed to publish this unworthy worke under your gracious patronage. First, as an acknowledgement of that duty I am bound to you in as a servant: next, assured that your most judiciable censure is as able to approve what therein is authentike and good, as your noble and accustomed modesty will charitably connive, if there be any thing therein unworthy your learned approbation. I have striv'd (my Lord) to make good a subject, which many through envy, but most through ignorance, have sought violently (and beyond merit) to oppugne; in which, if they have either wandred through spleene, or erred by non-knowledge, I have (to my power) plainly and freely illustrated; propounding a true, direct, and faithfull discourse, touching the antiquity, the ancient dignity, and the true use of Actors, and their quality. If my industry herein be by the common adversary harshly received, but by your Honour charitably censured, I have from the injudicious (whom I esteeme not) but what I expect, but from your Lordship (whom I ever reverence) more then I can merit.

Your Honour's humbly devoted,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

To my good Friends and Fellowes
the Citty-Actors.

OUT of my busiest houres I have spared my selfe so much time, as to touch some particulars concerning us, to approve our antiquity, ancient dignity, and the true use of our quality. That it hath beene ancient, we have derived it from more then two thousand yeeres agoe successively to this age. That it hath beene esteemed by the best and greatest, to omit all the noble patrons of the former world, I need alledge no more then the royall and princely services in which we now live. That the use thereof is authentique, I have done my endeavour to instance by history, and approve by authority. To excuse my ignorance in affecting no flourish of eloquence to set a glosse upon my Treatise, I have nothing to say for my selfe but this:—a good face needs no painting, and a good cause no abetting. Some over-curious have too liberally taxed us; and hee (in my thoughts) is held worthy reproofe, whose ignorance cannot answere for it selfe: I hold it more honest for the guiltlesse to excuse, then the envious to exclaime; and we may as freely (out of our plainnesse) answere, as they (out of their perverseness) object, instancing my selfe by famous Scaliger, learned Doctor Gager, Doctor Gentiles, and others, whose opinions and approved arguments on our part I have in my briefe discourse altogether omitted, because I am loath to bee taxed in borrowing from others; and besides, their workes, being extant to the world, offer themselves freely to every man's perusall. I am profest adversary to none: I rather covet reconciliation then opposition, nor proceedes this my labour from any envy in me, but rather to shew them wherein they erre. So, wishing you judicall audiences, honest poets, and true gatherers, I commit you all to the fulnesse of your best wishes.

Your's ever,

T. H.

TO THE JUDICIALL READER.

I HAVE undertooke a subject (curteous reader) not of sufficient countenance to bolster it selfe by his owne strength, and therefore have charitably reached it my hand to support it against any succeeding adversary. I could willingly have committed this worke to some more able then my selfe, for the weaker the combatant, hee needeth the stronger armes ; but in extremities I hold it better to weare rusty armour then to goe naked : yet if these weake habiliments of warre can but buckler it from part of the rude buffets of our adversaries, I shall hold my paines sufficiently guerdoned. My pen hath seldome appeared in presse till now : I have beene ever too jealous of mine owne weaknesse willingly to thrust into the presse ; nor had I at this time, but that a kind of necessity enjoyned me to so sudden a businesse. I will neither shew my selfe over presumtuous in skorning thy favour, nor too importunate a beggar by too servilly intreating it. What thou art content to bestow upon my pains, I am content to accept : if good thoughts, they are all I desire : if good words, they are more then I deserve : if bad opinion, I am sorry I have incur'd it : if evil language, I know not how I have merited it : if any thing, I am pleased : if nothing, I am satisfied, contenting my selfe with this—I have done no more then (had I beene called to account) shewed what I could say in the defence of my owne quality.

Thine,

T. HEYWOOD.

Firma valent per se, nullumque Machaona quærunt.

Ἀπολογία τῶν πανηγυρῶν.

Τοῦτο βροτοῖσι μελεῖ μουσῶν περικαλλέα ὕμνεῖν
 Καὶ κλέα καὶ δ'ἀρετῆς; ἔραμαι μέγα; τὸν γὰρ ἄλιτρον
 Εὐρε Θεός; φιλικὸν μέλος ἀνθρώποισι πονηρὸν
 Φεῦγε, μίθεις τῶν κῶμα κακῶν· κωμῳδία δέξει
 Τὴν δὲ ὑποθήκην; μήτε καλ' ἔργα τραγῳδία κάρφει·
 Ἀγριὸς εἶ; καὶ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι φαῦλος ὅμως θ'ὑπερόπτης
 Βάλλετο, καὶ παραπόλλετο δ'ἐν μεγάλοισι θεάτροις·
 Ἄλλ' ἀγαθῶν αἰεὶ δυνάμεις καλεαὶ φερέονται.
 Εἰ φιλέης μούσας, φιλέειν δεῖ εὐρὰ θέατρα,
 Αἰσχρὰ διώκων· καιρὸν καὶ φίλον ἄνδρ' ἀπολέσσης,
 ΑΛ. Πρ'.

In laudem, nec Operis, nec Authoris.

*Fallor? an hæc solis non solùm grata Theatris?
 (Esse putes solis quanquam dictata Theatris)
 Magna sed a sacro veniet tibi gratia Templo,
 Parve Liber; proles haut infitianda parenti.
 Plurimus hunc nactus librum de-plebe-Sacerdos
 (Copia verborum cui sit, non copia rerum)
 Materiæ tantum petet hinc; quantum nec in uno
 Promere mense potest, nec in uno forsitan anno.
 Da quemuis textum; balbâ de nare locutus,
 Protinùs exclamat (nefanda piacula!) in urbe
 (Proh dolor!) impietas nudatâ fronte vagatur!
 Ecce librum (Fratres) damnando authore poëtâ:
 Pejorem nec sol vidit, nec Vorstius ipse
 Hæresiarcha valet componere: Quippe Theatri
 Mentitas loquitur laudes (ô tempora), laudet
 Idem si potis est, monachum, monachine cucullum.
 Sacro quis laudes unquam nomenve Theatri
 Repperit in CANONE? haud vllus. stolidissime, dogma
 Non CANONEM sapit hoc igitur, sed Apocryphon. Inde
 (Lymphatum attonito pectus tundente popello,
 Et vacuum quassante caput mæstumque tuenti)
 Sic multo raucùm crocicans sudore perorat;*

*Quod non dant proceres dedit histrio : nempe benignam
 Materiam declamandi, plebemque docendi.
 Quis tamen hic mystes tragico qui fulmina ab ore
 Torquet ? Num doctus ? Certé. Num metra Catonis
 Quatuor edidicit, tolidem quoque commata Tullí.
 Jejunaque catechesin pistoribus æquè
 Sartoribusque piis scripsit. Liber utilis his, qui
 Baptistam simulant vultu, Floralia vivunt :
 Queisque supercilio brevior coma. Sed venerandos
 Graios hic Latiosque patres exosus ad unum est ;
 Et Canones damnans fit Apocryphus. Uritur intùs.
 Laudibus ACTORIS multùm mordetur. Ab illo
 Laude suâ fraudatur enim. Quis nescit ? Iniquum'st
 Præter se scripto laudetur (a) Hypocrita quisquam.
 Fallor ? an hæc solis non solùm grata Theatris ?*

*(a) Hypocrita
 propriè per-
 sonatum his-
 trionem de-
 notat.*

*Anonymus, sive.
 pessimus omnium Poëta.*

To them that are opposite to this worke.

Cease your detracting tongues, contest no more,
 Leave off for shame to wound the Actor's fame,
 Seeke rather their wronged credit to restore ;
 Your envy and detractions quite disclaime.

You that have termed their sports lascivious, vile,
 Wishing good princes would them all exile,
 See here this question to the full disputed ;
 Heywood hath you, and all your proofes confuted.

Wouldst see an emperour and his counsell grave,
 A noble souldier acted to the life,
 A Romane tyrant, how he doth behave
 Himselfe at home, abroad, in peace, in strife ?

Wouldst see what's love, what's hate, what's foule excesse,
 Or wouldst a traytor in his kind expresse ?
 Our Stagerites can (by the poet's pen)
 Appeare to you to bee the selfe same men.

What though a sort for spight, or want of wit,
 Hate what the best allow, the most forbear,
 What exercise can you desire more fit
 Than stately stratagemes to see and heare ?

What profit many may attaine by playes,
 To the most criticke eye this booke displaies Vid. Page 5.
 Brave men, brave acts, being bravely acted too,
 Makes, as men see things done, desire to do.

And did it nothing, but in pleasing sort
 Keepe gallants from mispending of their time,
 It might suffice ; yet here is nobler sport,
 Acts well contriv'd, good prose, and stately rime.

To call to church Campanus bells did make ;
 Playes dice and drinke invite men to forsake :
 Their use being good, then use the Actors well,
 Since our's all other nation's farre excell.

AR. HOPTON.

To his beloved friend, Maister

THOMAS HEYWOD.

Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis.

I cannot, though you write in your owne cause,
 Say you deale partially ; but must confesse,
 (What most men wil) you merit due applause,
 So worthily your worke becomes the presse.

And well our Actors may approve your paines,
 For you give them authority to play,
 Even whilst the hottest plague of envy raignes ;
 Nor for this warrant shall they dearly pay.

What a full state of poets have you cited
 To judge your cause ; and to our equal view
 Faire monumentall theaters recited,
 Whose ruines had bene ruin'd but for you !

Such men, who can in tune both raile and sing,
 Shall, viewing this, either confesse 'tis good,
 Or let their ignorance condemn the spring,
 Because 'tis merry, and renewes our bloud.

Be, therefore, your owne iudgement your defence,
 Which shall approve you better then my praise,
 Whilst I, in right of sacred innocence,
 Durst ore each gilded tombe this knowne truth raise :
 Who dead would not be acted by their will,
 It seemes such men have acted their lives ill.

By your friend,

JOHN WEBSTER.

To my loving friend and fellow,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Thou that do'st raile at me for seeing a play,
 How wouldst thou have me spend my idle houres ?
 Wouldst have me in a taverne drinke all day,
 Melt in the sunne's heate, or walke out in showers ?

Gape at the Lottery from morne till even,
To heare whose mottoes blankes have, and who prises?
To hazzard all at dice (chance six or seven)
To card or bowle? my humour this dispises.

But thou wilt answer : None of these I need,
Yet my tir'd spirits must have recreation.
What shall I doe that may retirement breed,
Or how refresh my selfe, and in what fashion?

To drabbe, to game, to drinke, all these I hate :
Many enormous things depend on these.
My faculties truely to recreate
With modest mirth, and my selfe best to please,

Give me a play, that no distaste can breed.
Prove thou a spider, and from flowers sucke gall ;
I'le, like a bee, take hony from a weed ;
For I was never puritannicall.

I love no publicke soothers, private scorner,
That raile 'gainst letchery, yet love a harlot :
When I drinke, 'tis in sight, and not in corners ;
I am no open saint, and secret varlet.

Still, when I come to playes, I love to sit
That all may see me in a publike place,
Even in the stages front, and not to git
Into a nooke, and hood-winke there my face.

*This is the difference : such would have men deeme
Them what they are not ; I am what I seeme.*

RICH. PERKINS.

To my good friend and fellow,
THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Let others taske things honest, and to please
Some that pretend more strictnesse then the rest,
Exclaime on playes, know I am none of these
That in-ly love what out-ly I detest.
Of all the modern pastimes I can finde
To content me, of playes I make best use,
As most agreeing with a generous minde :
There see I vertues crowne, and sinnes abuse.
Two houres well spent, and all their pastimes done,
What's good I follow, and what's bad I shun.

CHRISTOPHER BEESTON.

To my good friend and fellow,
THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Have I not knowne a man, that to be hyr'd
Would not for any treasure see a play,
Reele from a taverne? Shall this be admir'd,
When as another, but the t'other day,
That held to weare a surplesse most unmeet,
Yet after stood at Paul's-crosse in a sheet.

ROBERT PALLANT.

To my approved good friend
M. THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Of thee, and thy Apology for playes,
I will not much speake in contempt or praise ;
Yet in these following lines I'll shew my minde
Of playes, and such as have 'gainst playes repin'd.

A play's a briefe epitome of time,
Where man my see his vertue or his crime
Lay'd open, either to their vice's shame,
Or to their vertues' memorable fame.
A play's a true transparant christall mirror,
To shew good minds their mirth, the bad their terror :
Where stabbing, drabbing, dicing, drinking, swearing,
Are all proclaim'd unto the sight and hearing,
In ugly shapes of heaven-abhorrid sinne,
Where men may see the mire they wallow in.
And well I know it makes the divell rage,
To see his servants flouted on a stage.
A whore, a thiefe, a pander, or a bawd,
A broker, or a slave that lives by fraud ;
An usurer, whose soule is in his chest,
Until in hell it comes to restlesse rest ;
A fly-blowne gull, that faine would be a gallant ;
A raggamuffin that hath spent his tallant ;
A self-wise foole, that sees his wits out-stript,
Or any vice that feeles it selfe but nipt,
Either in Tragedy or Comedy,
In Morall, Pastorall, or History,
But straight the poyson of their envious tongues,
Breakes out in vollyes of calumnious wronges,
And then a tinker, or a dray-man sweares,
I would the house were fir'd about their eares.
Thus when a play nips Sathan by the nose,
Streight all his vassals are the actor's foes.
But feare not, man, let envy swell and burst,
Proceed, and let the divell do his worst ;
For playes are good, or bad, as they are us'd,
And best inventions often are abused.

Your's ever,

JOHN TAYLOR.

The Author to his Booke.

The world's a theater, the earth a stage,
Which God and nature doth with actors fill :
Kings have their entrance in due equipage,
And some there parts play well, and others ill.
The best no better are (in this theater),
Where every humor's fitted in his kinde ;
This a true subiect acts, and that a traytor,
The first applauded, and the last confin'd ;
This plaies an honest man, and that a knave,
A gentle person this, and he a clowne,
One man is ragged, and another brave :
All men have parts, and each man acts his owne.
She a chaste lady acteth all her life ;
A wanton curtezan another playes ;
This covets marriage love, that nuptial strife ;
Both in continual action spend their dayes :
Some citizens, some soldiers, borne to aduenter,
Sheepheards, and sea-men. Then our play's begun
When we are borne, and to the world first enter,
And all finde exits when their parts are done.
If then the world a theater present,
As by the roundnesse it appears most fit,
Built with starre galleries of hye ascent,
In which Jehove doth as spectator sit,
And chiefe determiner to applaud the best,
And their indeuours crowne with more then merit ;
But by their evill actions doomes the rest
To end disgrac't, whilst others praise inherit ;
He that denyes then theaters should be,
He may as well deny a world to me.

So compared
by the
Fathers.

No theater
no world.

No theater
no world.

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

A N A P O L O G Y F O R

Actors ; and first touching
their Antiquity.

Mooved by the sundry exclamations of many seditious sectists in this age, who, in the fatnes and ranknes of a peacable common-wealth, grow up like unsavery tufts of grasse, which, though outwardly greene and fresh to the eye, yet are they both unpleasant and unprofitable, beeing too sower for food, and too ranke for fodder ; these men, like the ancient Germans, affecting no fashion but their owne, would draw other nations to bee slovens like them-selves, and, undertaking to purifie and reforme the sacred bodies of the church and common-weale (in the trew use of both which they are altogether ignorant), would but like artlesse phisitions, for experiment sake, rather minister pills to poyson the whole body, then cordials to preserve any, or the least part. Amongst many other things tollerated in this peaceable and flourishing state, it hath pleased the high and mighty princes of this land to limit the use of certain publicke theaters, which, since many of these over-curious heads have lavishly and violently slandered, I hold it not amisse to lay open some few antiquities to approve the true use of them, with arguments (not of the least moment) which, according to the weaknes of my spirit and infancy of my iudgment, I will (by God's grace) commit to the eyes of all favorable and iudiciall readers, as well to satisfie the requests of some of our well qualified favorers, as to stop the envious acclamations of those who chalenge to themselves a priveledge[d] invective, and against all free estates a railing

liberty. Loath am I (I protest), being the youngest and weakest of the nest wherin I was hatcht, to soare this pitch before others of the same brood, more fledge, and of better winge then my selfe; but though they whome more especially this taske concernes, both for their ability in writing and sufficiency in judgement (as their workes generally witnesse to the world) are content to over-slip so necessary a subject, and have left it as to mee, the most unworthy, I thought it better to stammer out my mind, then not to speake at all; to scribe downe a marke in the stead of writing a name, and to stumble on the way, rather then to stand still and not to proceede on so necessary a journey.

Nox erat, et somnus lassos submitit ocellos. It was about that time of the night when darknes had already overspread the world, and a husht and generall sylence posset the face of the earth, and men's bodyes, tyred with the businesse of the daye, betaking themselves to their best repose, their never-sleeping soules labored in uncoth dreames and visions, when suddenly appeared to me the tragicke Muse, *Melpomene*,

———— *animosa Tragædia :*

———— *et movit pictis immixa cothurnis*

Densum cesarie terque quaterque caput.

Her heyre rudely disheveled, her chaplet withered, her visage with teares stayned, her brow furrowed, her eyes dejected, nay, her whole complexion quite faded and altered; and, perusing her habit, I might behold the colour of her fresh roabe all crimson breathed, and with the envenomed juice of some profane spilt inke in every place stained; nay more, her busken of all the wonted jewels and ornaments utterly despoyled, about which, in manner of a garter, I might behold these letters, written in a playne and large character :

Behold my tragicke buskin rent and torne,
Which kings and emperors in their tymes have worne.

This I no sooner had perused, but suddenly I might perceive the intruded Muse cast up her skornfull head: her eye-balls sparkle fire, and a suddain dash of disdain, intermixt with rage, purples her cheek. When, pacing with a maies-ticke gate, and rowsing up her fresh spirits with a lively and queint action, shee began in these or the like words.

Grande sonant tragici, tragicos decet ira cothurnos.

Am I Melpomene, the buskend Muse,
That held in awe the tyrants of the world,
And playde their lives in publicke theaters,
Making them feare to sinne, since fearelesse I
Prepar'd to write their lives in crimson inke,
And act their shames in eye of all the world?
Have not I whipt Vice with a scourge of steele,
Unmaskt sterne Murther, sham'd lascivious Lust,
Pluckt off the visar from grimme Treason's face,
And made the sunne point at their ugly sinnes?
Hath not this powerful hand tam'd fiery Rage,
Kild poysonous Envy with her owne keene darts,
Choak't up the covetous mouth with moulten gold,
Burst the vast wombe of eating Gluttony,
And drown'd the Drunkard's gall in juice of grapes?
I have showed Pryde his picture on a stage,
Layde ope the ugly shapes his steele-glasse hid,
And made him passe thence meekely. In those daies
When emperours with their presence grac't my sceanes,
And thought none worthy to present themselves
Save emperours, to delight embassadours,
Then did this garland flourish, then my roabe
Was of the deepest crimson, the best dye:

*Cura ducum fuerant olim regumque poetæ,
Præmiaque antiqui magna tulere chori.*

Who lodge then in the bosome of great kings,
Save he that had a grave cothurnate Muse?

A stately verse in an Iambick stile
 Became a Kesar's mouth. Oh! these were times
 Fit for you bards to vent your golden rymes.
 Then did I tread on arras; cloth of tissue
 Hung round the fore-front of my stage; the pillars
 That did support the roofof my large frame
 Double appareld in pure Ophir gold,
 Whilst the round circle of my spacious orbe
 Was throng'd with princes, dukes, and senators.
Nunc hedaræ sine honore jacent.
 But now's the iron age, and black-mouth'd cures
 Barke at the vertues of the former world.
 Such with their breath have blasted my fresh roabe,
 Pluckt at my flowry chaplet, towsed my tresses;
 Nay, some who, for their basenesse hist and skorn'd,
 The stage, as loathsome, hath long-since spued out,
 Have watcht their time to cast invenom'd inke
 To stayne my garments with. Oh! Seneca,
 Thou tragicke poet, hadst thou liv'd to see
 This outrage done to sad Melpomene,
 With such sharpe lynes thou wouldst revenge my blot,
 As armed Ovid against Ibis wrot.

With that in rage shee left the place, and I my dreame, for
 at the instant I awaked; when, having perused this vision over
 and over againe in my remembrance, I suddenly bethought
 mee, how many ancient poets, tragicke and comicke, dying
 many ages agoe, live still amongst us in their works: as,
 amongst the Greekes, Euripides, Menander, Sophocles, Eu-
 polis, Æschylus, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Anaxandrides,
 Nicomachus, Alexis, Tereus, and others; so, among the
 Latins, Attilius, Actius, Melithus, Plautus, Terens, and others,
 whome for brevity sake I omit.

*Hos ediscit, et hos arcto stipata theatro
 Spectat Roma potens; habet hos, numeratque poëtas.*

These potent Rome acquires and holdeth deare,
And in their round theaters flocks to heare.

These, or any of these, had they lived in the afternoone of the world, as they dyed even in the morning, I assure my selfe would have left more memorable tropheys of that learned Muse, whome, in their golden numbers, they so richly adorned. And, amongst our moderne poets, who have bene industrious in many an elaborate and ingenious poem, even they whose pennes have had the greatest trafficke with the stage, have bene in the excuse of these Muses most forgetfull. But, leaving these, lest I make too large a head to a small body, and so mishape my subject, I will begin with the antiquity of acting comedies, tragedies, and hystories. And first in the golden world.

In the first of the Olimpiads, amongst many other active exercises in which Hercules ever triumph'd as victor, there was in his nonage presented unto him by his tutor, in the fashion of a history acted by the choyse of the nobility of Greece, the worthy and memorable acts of his father Jupiter: which being personated with lively and well spirited action, wrought such impression in his noble thoughts, that in meere emulation of his father's valor (not at the behest of his stepdame Juno), he perform'd his twelve labours. Him valiant Theseus followed, and Achilles Theseus; which bred in them such hawty and magnanimous attempts, that every succeeding age hath recorded their worths unto fresh admiration. Aristotle, that prince of philosophers, whose bookes carry such credit even in these our universities, that to say *ipse dixit* is a sufficient *axioma*, hee, having the tuition of young Alexander, caused the destruction of Troy to be acted before his pupill; in which the valor of Achilles was so naturally exprest, that it imprest the hart of Alexander, in so much that all his succeeding actions were meerly shaped after that patterne; and it may be imagined that, had Achilles never lived, Alexander had never conquered the whole world. The like assertion may

be made of that ever-renowned Roman, Julius Cæsar, who, after the like representation of Alexander in the temple of Hercules, standing in Gades, was never in any peace of thoughts, till by his memorable exployts hee had purchas'd to himselfe the name of Alexander, as Alexander, till hee thought himself of desert to be called Achilles; Achilles, Theseus; Theseus, till he had sufficiently imitated the acts of Hercules; and Hercules, till hee held himselfe worthy to be called the son of Jupiter. Why should not the lives of these worthyes, presented in these our dayes, effect the like wonders in the princes of our times, which can no way bee so exquisitely demonstrated, nor so lively portrayed, as by action. Oratory is a kind of speaking picture; therefore, may some say, is it not sufficient to discourse to the eares of princes the fame of these conquerors? Painting, likewise, is a dumbe oratory; therefore may we not as well, by some curious Pygmalion, drawe their conquests to worke the like love in princes towards these worthyes, by shewing them their pictures drawn to the life, as it wrought on the poore painter to bee inamoured of his owne shadow? I answer this.

*Non magis expressi vultus per ahenea signa,
Quàm per vatis opus mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent.*——

The visage is no better cut in brasse,
Nor can the carver so expresse the face,
As doth the poet's penne, whose arts surpasse
To give men's lives and vertues their due grace.

A description is only a shadow, received by the eare, but not perceived by the eye; so lively portrature is meerely a forme seene by the eye, but can neither shew action, passion, motion, or any other gesture to moove the spirits of the beholder to admiration: but to see a souldier shap'd like a souldier, walke, speake, act like a souldier; to see a Hector all besmèred in blood, trampling upon the bulkes of kinges;

a Troilus returning from the field, in the sight of his father Priam, as if man and horse, even from the steed's rough fetlockes to the plume on the champion's helmet, had bene together plunged into a purple ocean ; to see a Pompey ride in triumph, then a Cæsar conquer that Pompey ; labouring Hannibal alive, hewing his passage through the Alpes. To see as I have seene, Hercules, in his owne shape, hunting the boare, knocking downe the bull, taming the hart, fighting with Hydra, murdering Geryon, slaughtering Diomed, wounding the Stymphalides, killing the Centaurs, pashing the lion, squeezing the dragon, dragging Cerberus in chaynes, and lastly, on his high pyramides writing *Nil ultra*, Oh, these were sights to make an Alexander !

To turne to our domesticke hystories : what English blood, seeing the person of any bold Englishman presented, and doth not hugge his fame, and hunnye at his valor, pursuing him in his enterprise with his best wishes, and as beeing wrapt in contemplation, offers to him in his hart all prosperous performance, as if the personator were the man personated ? so bewitching a thing is lively and well-spirited action, that it hath power to new-mold the harts of the spectators, and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt. What coward, to see his countryman valiant, would not bee ashamed of his owne cowardise ? What English prince, should hee behold the true portrature of that famous King Edward the Third, foraging France, taking so great a king captive in his owne country, quartering the English Lyons with the French flower-delyce, and would not bee suddenly inflam'd with so royale a spectacle, being made apt and fit for the like atchievement. So of Henry the Fift ; but not to be tedious in any thing, Ovid, in one of his poems, holds this opinion—that Romulus was the first that brought plaies into Italy, which he thus sets downe.

*Primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos,
Cum juvit viduos rapta Sabina viros :*

De Arte
Amandi. I. Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro, &c.

Which wee English thus—

Thou, noble Romulus, first playes contrives,
 To get thy widdowed souldiers Sabine wyves—
 In those dayes from the marble house did wave
 No saile, no silken flagge, or ensigne brave :
 Then was the tragicke stage not painted red,
 Or any mixed staines on pillers spred :
 Then did the sceane want art, tli' unready stage
 Was made of grasse and earth in that rude age ;
 About the which were thick-leaved branches placed,
 Nor did the audients hold themselves disgraced
 Of turfe and heathy sods to make their seates,
 Fram'd in degrees of earth and mossy peates.
 Thus plac'd in order every Roman pry'd
 Into her face that sat next by his side,
 And closing with her severally gan move,
 The innocent Sabine women to their love :
 And whilst the piper Thuscus rudely plaid,
 And by thrice stamping with his foote had made
 A signe unto the rest, there was a shout,
 Whose shrill report pierst all the aire about.
 Now at a signe of rape, given from the king,
 Round through the house the lusty Romans fling,
 Leaving no corner of the same unsought,
 Till every one a frighted virgin caught.
 Looke, as the trembling dove the eagle flies,
 Or a yong lambe when he the wolfe espyes,
 So ran the poore girles, filling th'aire with skreekes,
 Emptying of all the colour their pale cheekes.
 One feare possest them all, but not one looke,
 This teares her haire, she hath her wits forsooke,
 Some sadly sit, some on their mothers call,
 Some chafe, some flye, some stay, but frighted all.

Thus were the ravish'd Sabines blushing led
(Becomming shame) unto each Roman's bed :
If any striv'd against it, streight her man
Would take her on his knee (whom feare made wan)
And say, Why weep'st thou, sweet? what ailes my deere?
Dry up these drops, these cloudes of sorrow cleere :
Il'e be to thee, if thou thy grieffe will smother,
Such as thy father was unto thy mother.
Full well could Romulus his souldiers please,
To give them such faire mistresses as these.
If such rich wages thou wilt give to me,
Great Romulus, thy souldier I will be.

Romulus, having erected the walles of Rome and leading under him a warlike nation, being in continuall war with the Sabines, after the choyce selecting of a place fit for so famous a citty, and not knowing how to people the same, his traine wholly consisting of souldiers, who, without the company of women (they not having any in their army) could not multiply, but so were likely that their immortal fames should dye issulesse with their mortal bodies, thus, therefore, Romulus devised :—After a parle and attonement made with the neighbour nations, hee built a theater, plaine, according to the time, yet large, fit for the entertainment of so great an assembly; and these were they whose famous issue peopled the cittie of Rome, which in after ages grew to such height that not Troy, founded by Dardanus—Carthage, layed by Dido—Tyrus, built by Agenor—Memphis, made by Ogdous—Thebes, seated by Cadmus—nor Babylon, reared by Semiramis—were any way equal to this situation, grounded by Romulus, to which all the discovered kingdomes of the earth after became tributaries. And in the noon-tide of their glory, and height of all their honor, they edified theaters and amphi-theaters; for in their flourishing common-weale their publike comedians and tragedians most florished, insomuch that the tragicke and

comicke poets were all generally admired of the people, and particularly every man of his private Mecænas.

Imperante In the reigne of Augustus, Christ was born ;
Augusto and, as well in his dayes as before his birth,
natus est these solemnities were held in the greatest esti-
Christus. mation. In Julius Cæsar's time, predecessor to
Imperante
Tiberio cru- Augustus, the famous hony-tong'd orator, Ci-
ciftæus. cero, florished ; who, amongst many other his eloquent ora-
tions, writ certaine yet extant, for the comedian, Roscius (*pro*
Roscio Comædo), of whom we shall speake more large here-
after. These continued in their honour till the reigne of
Tiberius Cæsar ; and under Tiberius Christ was crucified.

To this end do I use this assertion, because, in the full and perfect time our Saviour sojourned on the earth, even in those happy and peacefull dayes, the spacious theaters were in the greatest opinion amongst the Romans ; yet neither Christ himselfe, nor any of his sanctified apostles, in any of their sermons, acts, or documents, so much as named them, or upon any abusive occasion touched them. Therefore hence (me thinkes) a very probable and important argument may be grounded, that since they in their divine wisdomes knew all the sinnes abounding in the world before that time, taxt and reprov'd all the abuses reigning in that time, and foresaw all the actions and inconveniences (to the church prejudiciall) in the time to come, since they (I say), in all their holy doctrines, bookes, and principles of divinity, were content to passe them over, as things tollerated and indifferent, why should any nice and over-scrupulous heads, since they cannot ground their curiousnesse either upon the Old or New Testament, take upon them to correct, controule, or carpe at that, against which they cannot finde any text in the sacred scriptures ?

In the time of Nero Cæsar, the apostle Paul was persecuted and suffered—Nero was then emperour : Paul writ his Epistle to the Romans, and at the same time did the theaters

most flourish amongst the Romans; yet where can we quote any place in his epistles which forbids the church of God, then resident in Rome, to absent themselves from any such assemblies?

To speake my opinion with all indifferency, God hath not enjoyned us to weare all our apparrell solely to defend the cold: some garments we weare for warmth, others for ornament. So did the children of Israel hang eare-rings in their eares, nor was it by the law forbidden them. That purity is not look't for at our hands, being mortall and humane, that is required of the angels, being celestiall and divine. God made us of earth, men; knowes our natures, dispositions, and imperfections, and therefore hath limited us a time to rejoyce, as he hath enjoyned us a time to mourne for our transgressions; and I hold them more scrupulous than well advised, that go about to take from us the use of all moderate recreations. Why hath God ordained for man varietie of meates, dainties, and delicates, if not to taste thereon? Why doth the world yeeld choyce of honest pastimes, if not decently to use them? Was not the hare made to be hunted? the stagge to be chased? and so of all other beasts of game in their severall kindes. Since God hath provided us of these pastimes, why may we not use them to his glory? Now, if you aske me why were not the theaters as gorgeously built in all other cities of Italy as Rome, and why are not play-houses maintained as well in other cities of England as London? My answer is, It is not meet every meane esquire should carry the part belonging to one of the nobility, or for a noble-man to usurpe the estate of a prince. Rome was a metropolis, a place whither all the nations knowne under the sunne resorted: so is London, and being to receive all estates, all princes, all nations, therefore to afford them all choyce of pastimes, sports, and recreations. Yet were there theaters in all the greatest cities of the world, as we will more largely particularize hereafter.

I never yet could read any history of any commonweale, which did not thrive and prosper whilst these publike solemnities were held in adoration. Oh ! but (say some) Marcus Aurelius banisht all such triviall exercises beyond the confines of Italy. Indeed, this emperour was a philosopher of the sect of Diogenes, a Cinicke ; and whether the hand of Diogenes would become a scepter or a root better, I leave to your judgments. This Aurelius was a great and sharpe reprover, who, because the matrons and ladies of Rome, in scorne of his person, made a play of him, in his time interdicted the use of their theatres : so, because his wife, Faustine, plaid false with him, he generally exclaimed against all women ; because himselfe could not touch an instrument, he banisht all the musitians in Rome ; and, being a meere coward, put all the gladiators and sword-players into exile. And, lest his owne suspected life should be againe acted by the comedians, as it before had beene by the noble matrons, he profest himselfe adversary to all of that quality ; so severe a reformation of the weale publike hee used, restraining the citizens of their free liberties, which till his daies was not scene in Rome. But what profited this the weale publicke ? Do but peruse the ancient Roman chronicles, and you shall undoubtedly finde, that from the time of this precise Emperour, that stately city, whose lofty buildings crowned seven high hils at once, and over-peered them all, streight way begun to hang the head. By degrees the forreigne kingdomes revolted, and the homage done them by strange nations was in a little space quite abrogated ; for they governed all the world, some under consuls, some under pro-consuls, presidents, and pretors : they divided their dominions and contries into principalities, some into provinces, some into toparchyes, some into tetrarchyes, some into tribes, others into ethnarchyes ; but now their homage ceast, Marcus Aurelius ended their mirth, which presaged, that shortly after should begin their sorrow. He banisht their liberty, and immediately followed their bon-

dage; for Rome, which till then kept all the nations of the world in subjective awe, was in a little space awd even by the basest nations of the world.

To leave Italy and looke backe into Greece. The sages and princes of Grecia, who for the refinednesse of their language were in such reputation through the world, that all other tongues were esteemed barbarous, these, that were the first understanders, trained up their youthful nobility to bee actors, debarring the base mechanickes so worthy employment; for none but the young heroes were admitted that practise, so to embolden them in the delivery of any forraine embassy. These wise men of Greece (so called by the Oracle) could by their industry finde out no neerer or directer course to plant humanity and manners in the hearts of the multitude, then to instruct them by moralized mysteries what vices to avoyd, what vertues to embrace, what enormities to abandon, what ordinances to observe; whose lives, being for some speciall endowments in former times honoured, they should admire and follow; whose vicious actions, personated in some licentious liver, they should despise and shunne; which, borne out as well by the wisdom of the poet, as supported by the worth of the actors, wrought such impression in the hearts of the plebe, that in short space they excelled in civility and government, inso-much that from them all the neighbour nations drew their patternes of humanity, as well in the establishing of their lawes, as the reformation of their manners. These Magi and Gymnosophistæ, that lived (as I may say) in the childhood and infancy of the world, before it knew how to speake perfectly, thought even in those dayes that action was the neerest way to plant understanding in the hearts of the ignorant. Yea, (but say some) you ought not to confound the habits of either sex, as to let your boyes weare the attires of virgins, &c. To which I answer: The scriptures are not alwayes to be expounded meerely according to the letter (for in such

estate stands our mayne sacramentall controversie), but they ought exactly to bee conferred with the purpose they handle. To do as the Sodomites did, use preposterous lusts in preposterous habits, is in that text flatly and severely forbidden ; nor can I imagine any man, that hath in him any taste or relish of christianity, to be guilty of so abhorred a sinne. Besides, it is not probable that playes were meant in that text, because we read not of any playes knowne, in that time that Deuteronomie was writ, among the children of Israel. Nor do I hold it lawfull to beguile the eyes of the world in confounding the shapes of either sex, as to keep any youth in the habit of a virgin, or any virgin in the shape of a lad, to shroud them from the eyes of their fathers, tutors, or protectors, or to any other sinister intent whatsoever ; but, to see our youths attired in the habit of women, who knowes not what their intents be ? who cannot distinguish them by their names, assuredly knowing they are but to represent such a lady, at such a time appoynted ?

Do not the Universities, the fountaines and well springs of all good arts, learning, and documents, admit the like in their colledges ? and they (I assure my selfe) are not ignorant of their true use. In the time of my residence in Cambridge, I have seen tragedyes, comedyes, historyes, pastorals, and shewes, publickly acted, in which the graduates of good place and reputation have bene specially parted. This it held necessary for the emboldening of their junior schollers to arme them with audacity against they come to bee employed in any publicke exercise, as in the reading of the dialecticke, rhetoricke, ethicke, mathematicke, the physicke, or metaphysicke lectures. It teacheth audacity to the bashfull grammarian, beeing newly admitted into the private colledge, and, after matriculated and entred as a member of the University, and makes him a bold sophister, to argue *pro et contra* to compose his syllogysmes, cathegoricke, or hypohethicke (simple or compound), to reason and frame a suffi-

cient argument to prove his questions, or to defend any *axioma*, to distinguish of any dilemma, and be able to moderate in any argumentation whatsoever.

To come to rhetoricke: it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with judgement to observe his commas, colons, and full poynts; his parentheses, his breathing spaces, and distinctions; to keepe a decorum in his countenance, neither to frowne when he should smile, nor to make unseemely and disguised faces in the delivery of his words; not to stare with his eies, draw awry his mouth, confound his voice in the hollow of his throat, or teare his words hastily betwixt his teeth; neither to buffet his deske like a mad man, nor stande in his place like a livelesse image, demurely plodding, and without any smooth and formal motion. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronuntiation to them both.

Tully, in his booke *Ad Caium Herennium*, requires five things in an orator—invention, disposition, eloquution, memory, and pronuntiation; yet all are imperfect without the sixt, which is action, for be his invention never so fluent and exquisite, his disposition and order never so composed and formall, his eloquence and elaborate phrases never so materiall and pithy, his memory never so firme and retentive, his pronuntiation never so musicall and plausive, yet without a comely and elegant gesture, a gracious and a bewitching kinde of action, a naturall and familiar motion of the head, the hand, the body, and a moderate and fit countenance sutable to all the rest, I hold all the rest as nothing. A delivery and sweet action is the glosse and beauty of any discourse that belongs to a scholler. And this is the action behoovefull in any that professe this quality, not to use any impudent or forced motion in any part of the body, nor rough or other violent gesture; nor on the contrary to stand like a stiffe starcht man, but to qualifie every thing according to the nature of the person personated: for in overacting trickes,

and toying too much in the anticke habit of humors, men of the ripest desert, greatest opinions, and best reputations, may breake into the most violent absurdities. I take not upon me to teach, but to advise, for it becomes my juniority rather to be pupil'd my selfe, then to instruct others.

To proceed, and to looke into those men that professe themselves adversaries to this quality, they are none of the gravest and most ancient doctors of the academy, but onely a sorte of finde-faults, such as interest their prodigall tongues in all men's affaires without respect. These I have heard as liberally in their superficiall censures taxe the exercises performed in their colledges, as these acted on our publicke stages, not looking into the true and direct use of either, but ambitiously preferring their owne presumptuous humors, before the profound and authentickall judgements of all the learned doctors of the Universitie. Thus you see, that touching the antiquity of actors and acting, they have not beene new, lately begot by any upstart invention, but I have derived them from the first Olimpiads, and I shall continue the use of them even till this present age. And so much touching their antiquity.

Pars superest cœpti : pars est exhausta laboris.

O F A C T O R S, A N D

their ancient Dignitie.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

JULIUS CÆSAR, the famous conquerour, discoursing with Marcus Cicero, the as famous orator, amongst many other matters debated it pleased the emperour to aske his opinion of the *histriones*, the players of Rome, pretending some cavell against them, as men whose imployment in the common-weale was unnecessary. To whom Cicero answered thus: Content thee, Cæsar: there bee many heads busied and bewitched with these pastimes now in Rome, which otherwise would be inquisitive after thee and thy greatnesse. Which answer, how sufficiently the emperour approved, may be conjectured by the many guifts bestowed, and priviledges and charters after granted to men of that quality. Such was likewise the opinion of a great statesman of this land, about the time that certaine bookes were called in question. Doubtlesse there be many men of that temper, who, were they not carried away, and weaned from their owne corrupt and bad disposition, and by accidentall meanes removed and altered from their dangerous and sullen intendments, would be found apt and prone to many notorious and trayterous practises. Kings and monarches are by God placed and inthroaned *supra nos*, above us, and we are to regard them as the sun from whom we receive the light to live under, whose beauty and brightnesse we may onely admire, not meddle with. *Ne ludamus cum Diis*: they that shoot at the starres over their heads, their arrowes fall directly downe, and wound themselves. But this allusion may be

better referred to the use of action promised in our third treatise, then to their dignity, which next and immediately (by God's grace) our purpose is to handle.

The word *tragedy* is derived from the Greeke word *τράγος*, *caper*, a goat, because the goat, being a beast most injurious to the vines, was sacrificed to Bacchus. Heereupon Diodurus writes that tragedies had their first names from the oblations due to Bacchus ; or else of *τράξις*, a kinde of painting, which the tragedians of the old time used to stayne their faces with. By the censure of Horace, Thespis was the first tragicke writer :

*Horace, Arte Poeticâ. Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camenæ
Dicitur, et plaustri vexisse poemata Thespis.*

The unknowne Tragicke Muse Thespis first sought,
And her high poems in her chariot brought.

This Thespis was an Athenian poet, borne in Thespina, a free towne in Bœotia by Helicon : of him the nine Muses were called Thespiades. But by the censure of Quintilian, Æschylus was before him ; but after them Sophocles and Euripides clothed their tragedies in better ornament. Livius *Potid. Virgil.* Andronicus was the first that writ any Roman tragedy, in which kinde of poësie Accius, Pacuvius, Seneca, and Ovidius excelled.

*Ovid, Amorum. lib. 2. Eleg. 18. Sceptra tamen sumpsi : curâque tragœdia nostra
Crevit ; at huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.*

The sceptred tragedy then proov'd our wit,
And to that worke we found us apt and fit.

Againe, in his fift Booke, *De tristibus. Eleg. 8.*

*Carmina quòd vestro saltari nostra theatro
Versibus, et plaudì scribis (amice) meis.*

Deere friend, thou writ'st our Muse is 'mongst you song,
And in your theaters with plaudits rong.

Likewise in his epistle to Augustus, writ from the Ponticke Island, whither he was banisht :

*Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale cothurnis,
Quæque gravis debet verba cothurnus habet.*

With royall stile speakes our Cothurnate Muse,
A buskind phrase in buskin'd playes we use.

The word *comedy* is derived from the Greeke word κόμος, a street, and ᾠδή, *cantus*, a street song ; as signifying there was ever mirth in those streets where Comedies most florisht :

Hæc paces habuere bonæ, ventique secundi.

In this kind, Aristophanes, Eupolis, Cratinus were famous ; after them, Menander and Philemon : succeeding them, Cici-lius, Nævius, Plautus, and Terentius.

*Musaque Turani tragicis innixa cothurnis
Et tua cum socco, Musa, Melisse levis.*

Turanus' tragicke buskin grac'd the play,
Melissa's comicke shooe made lighter way.

The ancient histriographers write, that among *Alex. Meta-*
the Greekes there were divers places of exercises *pol.*
appointed for poets ; some at the grave of Theseus, others at Helicon, where they in comedies and tragedies contended for several prizes, where Sophocles was adjudged victor over Æschylus. There were others in the city of Elis, where Menander was foyled by Philemon. In the same kinde, Hesiod is sayd to have triumpht over Homer. So Corinna, (for her excellencies in these inventions, called *musica lyrica*) excelled Pindarus, the Theban poet, for which she was five times crowned with garlands.

The first publicke theater was by Dionysius built in Athens : it was fashioned in the manner of a semi-circle, or halfe-moone, whose galleries and degrees were reared from the ground,

their staires high, in the midst of which did arise the stage, beside, such a convenient distance from the earth, that the audience assembled might easily behold the whole project without impediment. From this the Romanes had their first patterne, which at the first not being roof't, but lying open to all weathers, Quintus Catulus was the first that caused the outside to bee covered with linnen cloth, and the inside to bee hung round with curtens of silke. But when Marcus Scaurus was Ædilis, hee repaired it, and supported it round with pillers of marble.

Caius Curio, at the solemne obsequies of his father, erected a famous theater of timber, in so strange a forme that, on two several stages, two sundry playes might be acted at once, and yet the one bee no hinderance or impediment to the other; and, when hee so pleased, the whole frame was artificially composed to meet in the midst, which made an amphitheater.

Pompey the great, after his victories against Mithridates, king of Pontus, saw in the citty Mitilene a theater of another forme; and, after his triumphes and returne to Rome, he raised one after the same patterne of free-stone, of that vastnesse and receipt, that within his spaciousnesse it was able at once to receive fourescore thousand people, every one to sit, see, and heare.

In emulation of this sumptuous and gorgious building, Julius Cæsar, successor to Pompey's greatnesse, exceeded him in his famous architecture: hee raised an amphitheater *Campo Martio*, in the field of Mars, which as farre excelled Pompey's, as Pompey's did exceed Caius Curio's, Curio's that of Marcus Scaurus, Scaurus' that of Quintus Catulus, or Catulus' that which was first made in Athens by Dionysius: for the basses, columnnes, pillars, and pyramides were all of hewed marble; the covering of the stage, which wee call the heavens (where upon any occasion their gods descended), were geometrically supported by a giant-like Atlas, whom the poets

for his astrology feigne to beare heaven on his shoulders ; in which an artificiall sunne and moone, of extraordinary aspect and brightnesse, had their diurnall and nocturnall motions ; so had the starres their true and cœlestiall course ; so had the spheares, which in their continuall motion made a most sweet and ravishing harmony. Here were the elements and planets in their degrees, the sky of the moone, the sky of Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturne ; the starres, both fixed and wandering, and above all these, the first mover or *primum mobile*, there were the 12 signes ; the lines equinocciall and zodiacal ; the meridian circle, or zenith ; the orizon circle, or emisphere ; the zones, torrid and frozen ; the poles, articke and antarticke, with all other tropickes, orbs, lines, circles, the solstitium, and all other motions of the stars, signes, and planets. In briefe, in that little compasse were comprehended the perfect modell of the firmament, the whole frame of the heavens, with all grounds of astronomically conjecture. From the rooffe grew a loover, or turret, of an exceeding altitude, from which an ensigne of silke waved continually, *pendebant vela theatro*. But lest I waste too much of that compendiousnesse I have promised in my discourse in idle descriptions, I leave you to judge the proportion of the body by the making of this one limbe, every pillar, seat, foot-post, staire, gallery, and whatsoever else belongs to the furnishing of such a place, being in cost, substance, forme, and artificiall workmanship most sutable. The floore, stage, rooffe, outside, and inside as costly as the Pantheon or Capitoll. In the principall galleries were special, remote, selected, and chosen seats for the emperour, *patres conscripti*, dictators, consuls, prætors, tribunes, triumviri, decemviri, ædiles, cures, and other noble officers among the senators : all other roomes were free for the plebe, or multitude. To this purpose I introduce these famous edifices, as wondring at their cost and state, thus intimating, that if the quality of acting

were (as some propose) altogether unworthly, why for the speciall practise, and memorable imployment of the same, were founded so many rare and admirable monuments? and by whom were they erected? but by the greatest princes of their times, and the most famous and worthiest of them all, builded by him that was the greatest prince of the world, Julius Cæsar, at what time in his hand he grip't the universal empire of the earth. So of Augustus Cæsar :

*Inspice ludorum sumptus, Auguste, tuorum
Empta tibi magno.*

Behold, Augustus, the great pompe and state,
Of these thy playes payd deere for, at hye rate.

Hæc tu spectasti, spectandaque sæpe dedisti.

And could any inferiour quality bee more worthily esteemed or nobler graced, then to have princes of such magnificence and state to bestow on them places of such port and countenance? had they been never well regarded, they had been never so sufficiently provided for, nor would such worthy princes have strived who should (by their greatest expence and provision) have done them the amplest dignity, had they not with incredible favour regarded the quality. I will not traverse this too farre, least I incurre some suspition of selfe-love: I rather leave it to the favourable consideration of the wise, though to the perversenesse of the ignorant; who, had they any taste either of poesie, phylosophy, or historicall antiquity, would rather stand mated at their owne impudent ignorance, then against such noble and notable examples stand in publicke defiance.

I read of a theater built in the midst of the river Tiber, standing on pillars and arches, the foundation wrought under water like London-bridge: the nobles and ladyes, in their barges and gondelays, landed at the very stayres of the galleryes. After these they composed others, but differing in forme from

the theater, or amphitheater, and every such was called *Circus*, the frame globe-like and merely round :

Circus in hanc exit clamataque palma theatris.

And the yeare from the first building of Rome, five hundred threescore and seven, what time Spurius Posthumus Albinus, and Quintus Martius Philippus were consuls, Nero made one, and the noble Flaminius another ; but the greatest was founded by Tarquinius Priscus, and was called *Circus Maximus*. In this the gladiators practised, the widenesse and spaciousnesse was such, that in it they fought at barriers, and many times ran at tilt. Dion records eightene elephants slaine at once in one theater. More particularly to survey the rarer monuments of Rome, neere to the Pantheon (the temple of the Roman gods), at the discent from the hil Capitolinus, lies the great Forum, by which is scituate the great amphitheater of Titus, first erected by Vespasian, but after (almost ruined by fire) by the Roman Titus rarely re-edified. It is called *Colliseus*, also a *Cavea*, which signifies a scaffold, also *Arena*, a place of combate, by Sil- *Ammianus. lib. 29.*
vianus and Prudentius ; which name Tertullian, Pliny, Ovid, Firmicus, and Apuleius likewise give it. It had the title of *Circus*, *Cavea*, and *Stadium*, by Suetonius, Capitolinus, and Arcadius. Cassianus affirmes these theaters consecrated to Diana Taurica, Tertullian to Mars and Diana, Martial to Jupiter Latiaris, and to Stygian Pluto, whose opinion Minutius and Prudentius approve. The first structures were by the tribune Curio, which Dio, lib. 37, affirmes. Vitruvius, lib. 5, saith, *Multa theatra Romæ structa quot annis.* *Pliny. lib. 36.*
Of Julius Cæsar's amphitheater *Campo Martio* Dio Cassius records, which Augustus *Dio Cassius. lib. 43.*
after patronized, as Victor remembers of them, whose charge Statilius Taurus assisted, of whom Dio speaketh thus — *ὁ ταῦρος Στατίλιος θέατρον, &c. anno urbis* *Dio. lib. 51.*
DCCXXV. Pub. Victor forgets not *Circus Flamminii*, and Sue-

Suetonius. tonius remembers one builded by Caligula at
cap. 21. Septa, whose building Claudius at first inter-
Tacitus. dicted. Nero erected a magnificent theater in
lib. 13.
Annalium. the field of Mars. Suetonius, lib. *Ner.* 12.

Publius Victor speakes further of a *castrense theatrum*, a theater belonging to the campe in the country of the Æsquiles, built by Tiberius Cæsar, and of Pompey's theater Pliny witnesseseth. The great theater of Statilius, being in *Pliny, lib. 36, cap. 15.* greatest use, was burnt in the time of Nero, which Xiphilinus thus speakes of, τό τε παλατιον τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν καὶ τὸ θέατρον τῶν Ταύρου ἐκαύθη. This was built in the midst of the old citty, and after the combustion repaired by Vespasian, *Consulatu suo* 8, whose coyne of one side beares the express figure of his theater; yet was it onely begun by him, but perfected by his sonne Titus. Eutropius and Cassiodorus attribute this place soly to Titus, but Aurelius Victor gives him onely the honour of the perfecting a place so exquisitely begun: this after was repaired by Marcus Anthonius Pius, by whose cost, sayth Capitolinus, the temple of Hadrianus was repaired, and the great theater reedified, which Heliogabalus, by the testimony of Lampridius, patronized, and after the senate of Rome tooke to their protection under the Gordians.

Touching theaters without Rome, Lysius records *Theatra circà Romam extructa passim*: even in Jerusalem, *Herodes magnificus et illustris rex non uno loco Judeæ amphitheatra edificavit, extruxit in ipsâ urbe sacrâ, ἐν τῷ πηδιῷ* (as Josephus saith) Ἀμφιθέατρον μέγιστον. Herod, a magnificent and illustrious king, not in one place of Judea erected amphitheaters, but even in the holy citty hee built one of greatest receipt. Also in Greece, Asia, Africke, Spaine, France; nor is there any province in which their ancient structures do not yet remaine, or their perishing ruines are not still remembered. In Italy *ad Lirim, Campaniæ fluvium juxta Minturnas* remains part of an ample amphi-theater.

At Puteolis, a city by the sea-side in Campania, 8 miles from Naples, one.

At Capua, a magnificent one of solid marble.

At Alba, in Italy, one.

At Oriculum, in Umbria, one.

At Verona, one most beautiful.

At Florence, one whose compass yet remains.

At Athens, in Greece, one of marble.

At Pola, in Istria, by the Hadriaticke sea, one described by Sebastian Serlius.

At Hypsalis, in Spaine, one built without the walles of the citty.

In Turamace, in Vesuna, one of squared stone, the length of 30 perches, or poles, the breadth 20.

At Arelate one.

At Burdegall, one.

At Nemaus, one, remembred by Euseb. in Ecclesiastica Historia.

At Lygeris, one.

Another among the Helvetians.

The *Veronense theatrum marmoreum*, erected before the time of Augustus, as Torellus Serayna in his description of Verona records, but Cyrnicus Anconitanus reports it built in the nine and thirtieth yeare of Octavian: Carolus Sigonius referres it to the reigne of Maximinian, who saith
 Maximinian built theaters in Mediolanum, Aquilea, *Sicon, lib.*
 and Brixium. The like Cornelius Tacitus, *2 Hist., Hist. Occi-*
dent.
 remembers in Placentia, but the description of the Verona theater Levinus Kersmakerus sets downe. This the great king Francis, anno 1539, gave to certain actors, who thirty dayes space together represented in the same the Acts of the Apostles, nor was it lawfull by the edict of the king for any man to remove any stone within thirty poles of his scituation, lest they should endanger the foundation of the theater.

The like have been in Venice, Millan, Padua. In Paris

there are divers now in use by the French king's comedians, as the Burgonian, and others. Others in Massilia, in Trevers, Magontia, in Agrippina, and infinite cities of Greece, Thebes, Carthage, Delphos, Crete, Paphos, Epirus, also in the citie of Tydena, so at Civil, in Spaine, and at Madrill, with others.

Archduke At the entertainement of the Cardinall Alphonsus
Alphonsus. and the infant of Spaine in the Low-countrys, they were presented at Antwerpe with sundry pageants and playes: the King of Denmarke, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his service a company of English comedians, commended unto him by the honourable the Earle of Leicester: the Duke of Brunswicke and the Landgrave of Hessen retaine in their courts certaine of ours of the same quality. But among the Romans they were in highest reputation, for in comparison of their playes they never regarded any of their solemnities, there *ludi funebres*, there *Floralia*, *Cerealia*, *Frugalia*, *Bacchanalia*, or *Lupercalia*.

Stowe. And amongst us one of our best English Chroniclers records, that when Edward the Fourth would shew himselfe in publicke state to the view of the people, hee repaired to his palace at S. Johnes, where he accustomed to see the citty actors: and since then that house, by the prince's free gift, hath belonged to the Office of the Revels, where our court playes have beene in late daies yearely rehersed, perfected, and corrected before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility. Ovid, speaking of the Tragicke Muse, thus writes.

*Venit et ingenti violenta tragedia passu,
Fronte comæ torvâ palla jacebat humi:
Læva manus sceptrum laté regale tenebat,
Lydius apta pedum vincta cothurnus habet.*

Then came the Tragicke Muse with a proud pace,
Measuring her slow strides with majesticke grace:

Her long traine sweepes the earth, and she doth stand
With buskin'd legge, rough brow, and sceptred hand.

Well knew the poet what estimation she was in with Augustus, when he describes her holding in her left hand a scepter. Now to recite some famous actors that lived in the preceding ages. The first comedians were Cincius and Faliscus; the first tragedians were Minutius and Prothonius. Ælius Donatus, in his preface to Terence his *Andria*, saith that in that comedy Lucius Attilius, Latinus Prænestinus, and Lucius Ambivius Turpio were actors: this comedy was dedicated to Cibil, and such were called *Ludi Megalenses*, acted in the yeare that M. Fulvius was Ædilis, Quintus Minutius Valerius, and M. Glabrio were Curules, which were counsellors and chiefe officers in Rome, so called because they customably sate in chayres of ivory. The songs that were sung in this comedy were set by Flaccus, the sonne of Clodius. Terence his *Eunuchus*, or Second Comedy, was acted in the yeare L. Posthumus and L. Cornelius were Ædil. Curules, Marcus Valerius, and Caius Fannius Consuls. The yeare from the building of Rome, 291, in his *Adelphi* one Protinus acted and was highly applauded, in his *Hecyra* Julius Servius. Cicero commends one Rupilius, a rare tragedian. I read of another called Arossus, another called Theocrines, who purchased him a great applause in the playes called Terentini. There were other playes in Rome, called Actia and Pythia, made in honour of Apollo for killing the dragon Python. In those one Æsopus bare the praise, a man generally esteemed, who left behind him much substance, which Clodius, his sonne, after possest.

Cincius.
Faliscus.
Minutius.
Prothonius.
L. Attilius.
Latinus
Prænestinus.
Lucius
Ambivius
Turpio.

Flaccus.

Protinus.
L. Servius.

Offic. I.

Rupilius.
Arossus.
Theocrines.
Æsopus.

Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit.

Labericus. Labericus was an excellent poet and a rare actor, who writ a booke of the gesture and action to be used by the tragedians and comedians in performance of every part in his native humor. Plautus himselfe was so inamored of the actors in his dayes, that hee published many excellent and exquisite comedies yet extant. Aristotle commendeth one Theodoretus to be the best tragedian in his time. This in the presence of Alexander personated Achilles, which so delighted the emperour that hee bestowed on him a pension of *quinque mille drachmæ*, five thousand drachmaes, and every thousand drachmaes are twenty nine pounds, three shillings, foure pence sterling.

Roscius, whom the eloquent orator and excellent statesman of Rome, Marcus Cicero, for his elegant pronuntiation and formall gesture called his jewell, had from the common treasury of the Roman Exchequer a daily pension allowed him of so many *sestertii* as in our coine amount to 16 pound and a marke, or thereabouts, which yearely did arise to any noble-mans revenues. So great was the fame of this Roscius, and so good his estimation, that learned Cato made a question whether Cicero could write better then Roscius could speake and act, or Roscius speake and act better then Cicero write? Many times, when they had any important orations to be with an audible and loud voyce delivered to the people, they employed the tongue and memory of this excellent actor, to whom for his worth the senate granted such large exhibition.

quæ pervincere voces

Evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?

Garganum mugire putes nemus, aut mare Thuscum;

Tanto cum strepitu ludî spectantur et artes.

What voyce can be compared with the sound

Our theaters from their deepe concaves send?

For their reverberate murmurs seeme to drownd

The Gorgan wood, when the proud windes contend,

Or when rough stormes the Thuscan billowes raise ;
With such loud joy they ring our arts and playes.

To omit all the doctors, zawnyes, pantaloones, harlakeenes, in which the French, but especially the Italians, have beene excellent, and according to the occasion offered to do some right to our English actors, as Knell, Bentley, Mils, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others, these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, I cannot (as an eye-witness of their desert) give them that applause, which no doubt they worthily merit ; yet by the report of many juditiall auditors their performances of many parts have been so absolute, that it were a kinde of sinne to drowne their worths in Lethe, and not commit their (almost forgotten) names to eternity. Here I must needs remember Tarleton, in his time gracious with the queene, his soveraigne, and in the people's generall applause, whom succeeded Wil. Kemp, as wel in the favour of her majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the generall audience. Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly, all the right I can do them is but this, that, though they be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many. Among so many dead, let me not forget one yet alive, in his time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Allen. To omit these, as also such as for their divers imperfections may be thought insufficient for the quality, actors should be men pick'd out personable, according to the parts they present : they should be rather schollers, that, though they cannot speake well, know how to speake, or else to have that volubility that they can speake well, though they understand not what, and so both imperfections may by instructions be helped and amended : but where a good tongue and a good conceit both faile, there can never be good actor. I also could wish, that such as are condemned for their licentiousnesse, might by a generall consent bee quite excluded our society ; for, as we are men that stand in the broad eye of the world, so should our manners, gestures,

and behaviours, savour of such government and modesty, to deserve the good thoughts and reports of all men, and to abide the sharpest censures even of those that are the greatest opposites to the quality. Many amongst us I know to be of substance, of government, of sober lives, and temperate carriages, house-keepers, and contributory to all duties enjoyned them, equally with them that are rank't with the most bountifull ; and if amongst so many of sort, there be any few degenerate from the rest in that good demeanor which is both requisite and expected at their hands, let me entreat you not to censure hardly of all for the misdeeds of some, but rather to excuse us, as Ovid doth the generality of women :

Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes :

Spectetur meritis quæque puella suis.

For some offenders, that perhaps are few,
Spare in your thoughts to censure all the crew :
Since every breast contains a sundry spirit,
Let every one be censur'd as they merit.

Others there are of whom, should you aske my opinion, I must refer you to this, *Consule theatrum*. Here I might take fit opportunity to reckon up all our English writers, and compare them with the Greeke, French, Italian, and Latine poets, not only in their pastorall, historicall, elegiacall, and heroicall poems, but in their tragicall and comicall subjects ; but it was my chance to happen on the like, learnedly done by an approved good scholler, in a booke called Wits Commonwealth, to which treatise I wholly referre you, returning to our present subject. Julius Cæsar himselfe for his pleasure became an actor, being in shape, state, voyce, judgement, and all other occurrents, exterior and interior, excellent. Amongst many other parts acted by him in person, it is recorded of him that, with generall applause in his own theater, he played *Hercules Furens* ; and, amongst many other arguments of his compleatenesse, excellence, and extraordinary care in his

action, it is thus reported of him :—Being in the depth of a passion, one of his servants (as his part then fell out) presenting Lychas, who before had from Dejanira brought him the poysoned shirt, dipt in the blood of the centaure, Nessus, he, in the midst of his torture and fury, finding this Lychas hid in a remote corner (appoynted him to creep into of purpose), although he was, as our tragedians use, but seemingly to kill him by some false imagined wound, yet was Cæsar so extremely carried away with the violence of his practised fury, and by the perfect shape of the madnesse of Hercules, to which he had fashioned all his active spirits, that he slew him dead at his foot, and after swoong him, *terque quaterque* (as the poet says) about his head. It was the manner of their emperours, in those dayes, in their publicke tragedies, to choose out the fittest amongst such as for capital offences were condemned to dye, and imploy them in such parts as were to be kild in the tragedy ; who of themselves would make suit rather so to dye with resolution, and by the hands of such princely actors, then otherwise to suffer a shamefull and most detestable end. And these were tragedies naturally performed ; and such Caius Caligula, Claudius Nero, Vitellius, Domitianus, Commodus, and other emperours of Rome, upon their festivals and holy daies of greatest consecration, used to act. Therefore M. Kid, in his Spanish Tragedy, upon occasion presenting itselfe, thus writes.

Why, Nero thought it nò disparagement,
 And kings and emperours have tane delight
 To make experience of their wits in playes.

These exercises, as traditions, have beene since (though in better manner) continued through all ages, amongst all the noblest nations of the earth. But I have promised to be altogether compendious : presuming that what before is discourst may, for the practise of playes, their Antiquity and Dignity, be altogether sufficient, I omit the shewes and ceremonies,

even in these times, generally used among the Catholikes, in which, by the churchmen and most religious, divers pageants, as of the Nativity, Passion, and Ascention, with other historical places of the bible, are at divers times and seasons of the yeare usually celebrated—*sed hæc præter me*. In the yeare of the world, 4207, of Christ, 246, Origen writ certaine godly epistles to Philip, then emperour of Rome, who was the first Christian emperour, and in his life I reade that in the fourth yeare of his reigne, which was the 1000 yeare after the building of Rome, he solemnized that yeare as a jubilee with sumptuous pageants and playes. Homer, the most excellent of all poets, composed his Iliads in the shape of a tragedy, his Odiseas like a comedy. Virgil, in the first of his *Æneids*, in his description of Dido's Carthage,

—————*hic alta theatris*

Fundamenta locant alii, immanesque columnas

Rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris.

Which proves that in those dayes, immediately after the ruine of Troy, when Carthage had her first foundation, they built theatres with stately columnes of stone, as in his description may appeare. I have sufficiently discourst of the first theaters, and in whose times they were erected, even till the reigne of Julius Cæsar, the first emperour, and how they continued in their glory from him till the reigne of Marcus Aurelius, the 23 emperour, and from him even to these times. Now, to prove they were in as high estimation at Lacedæmon and Athens, two the most famous cities of Greece. Cicero, in his booke, *Cato Major, seu de Senectute: Cum Athenis ludis quidam grandis natu in theatrum venisset, &c.* An ancient citizen comming into one of the Athenian theatres to see the pastimes there solemnized (which shewes that the most antient and grave frequented them), by reason of the throng, no man gave him place or reverence; but the same citizen, being imploy'd in an embassy to Lacedæmon, and coming like a private

man into the theater, the generall multitude arose at once, and with great ceremonious reverence gave his age place. This Cicero alledges to prove the reverence due to age, and this I may fitly introduce to the approbation of my present subject. Moreover, this great statesman of Rome, at whose exile twenty thousand of the chiefest Roman citizens wore mourning apparel, oftentimes commends Plautus, calling him *Plautus noster*, and *Atticorum antiqua comedia*, where he proceeds further to extoll Æsopus for personating Ajax, and the famous actor, Rupilius, in Epigonus, Medea, Menalip, Clytemnestra, and Antiope, proceeding in the same place with this worthy and grave sentence, *Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scenâ, quod non videbit sapiens in vitâ?*—Shall a tragedian see that in his scene, which a wise man cannot see in the course of his life? So, in another of his workes, amongst many instructions to his sonne Marcus, he applauds Turpio Ambivius for his action, Statius, Nævius, and Plautus, for their writing. Ovid in *Augustum* :

*Luminibusque tuis totus quibus utitur orbis,
Scenica vidisti lusus adulteria.*

Those eyes, with which you all the world survey,
See in your theaters our actors play.

Augustus Cæsar, because he would have some memory of his love to those places of pastime, reared in Rome two stately *obelisci*, or pyramides, one in Julius Cæsar's temple in the field of Mars, another in the great theater, called *Circus Maximus*, built by Flaminius: these were in height an hundred cubits a peece, in bredth foure cubits: they were first raised by king Pheron in the temple of the Sunne, and after removed to Rome by Augustus. The occasion of their first composure was this: Pheron, for some great crime committed by him in his youth against the Gods, was by them strooke blinde, and so continued the space of ten yeares; but, after a

revelation in the citty Bucis, it was told that if he washt his eyes in the water of a woman that was chaste, and never adulterately touch't with any save her husband, he should againe recover his sight. The king first tride his wife, then many other of the most grave and best reputed matrons, but continued still in despaire, till at length hee met with one vertuous lady, by whose chastity his sight was restored, whom (having first commanded his queene and the rest to be consumed with fire) he after married. Pheron, in memory of this, builded his two pyramides, after removed to Rome by Augustus.

*Sanctaque majestas, et erat venerabile nomen
Vatibus———*

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOKE.

OF ACTORS, AND

the true use of their quality.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

TRAGEDIES and comedies, saith Donatus, had their beginning *a rebus divinis*, from divine sacrifices. They differ thus : in comedies *turbulenta prima; tranquilla ultima*; in tragedies, *tranquilla prima, turbulenta ultima* : comedies begin in trouble and end in peace ; tragedies begin in calmes, and end in tempest. Of comedies there be three kindes—moving comedies, called *motariæ* ; standing comedies, called *statariaæ*, or mixt betwixt both, called *mistæ* : they are distributed into foure parts, the *prologue*, that is, the preface ; the *protasis*, that is the proposition, which includes the first act, and presents the actors ; the *epitasis*, which is the businesse and body of the comedy ; the last, the *catastrophe*, and conclusion. The definition of the comedy, according to the Latins : a discourse, consisting of divers institutions, comprehending civill and domesticke things, in which is taught what in our lives and manners is to be followed, what to bee avoyded. The Greekes define it thus : *Κωμῳδία ἔστιν ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀχὺν δονος ποροίχην*. Cicero saith a comedy is the imitation of life, the glasse of custome, and the image of truth. In Athens they had their first originall. The ancient comedians used to attire their actors thus : the old men in white, as the most ancient of all, the yong men in party-coloured garments, to note their diversity of thoughts, their slaves and servants in thin and bare vesture, either to note their poverty, or that they might run

the more lighter about their affaires : their parasites wore robes that were turned in, and intricately wrapped about them ; the fortunate in white, the discontented in decayed vesture, or garments growne out of fashion ; the rich in purple, the poore in crimson ; souldiers wore purple jackets, hand-maids the habits of strange virgins, bawds pide coates, and curtezans garments of the colour of mud, to denote their covetousnesse : the stages were hung with rich arras, which was first brought from King Attalus into Rome ; his state hangings were so costly, that from him all tapestries and rich arras were called *Attalia*. This being a thing antient, as I have proved it, next of dignity. As many arguments have confirmed it, and now even in these dayes by the best, without exception, favourably tollerated, why should I yeeld my censure, grounded on such firm and establisht sufficiency, to any tower founded on sand, any castle built in the aire, or any triviall upstart, and meere imaginary opinion ?

Oderunt hilarem tristes, tristemque jocosum.

I hope there is no man of so unsensible a spirit, that can inveigh against the true and direct use of this quality. Oh, but say they, the Romanes in their time, and some in these dayes, have abused it, and therefore we volly out our exclamations against the use. Oh shallow ! because such a man hath his house burnt, we shall quite condemne the use of fire ; because one man quafft poyson, we must forbear to drinke ; because some have bean shipwrak't, no man shall hereafter trafficke by sea. Then I may as well argue thus : he cut his finger, therefore must I weare no knife ; yond man fell from his horse, therefore must I travell a foot ; that man surfeited, therefore I dare not eate. What can appeare more absurd then such a grosse and sencelesse assertion ? I could turne this unpointed weapon against his breast that aimes it at mine, and reason thus : Roscius had a large pension allowed him by the senate of Rome, why should not an actor of the like desert have the

like allowance now? or this, the most famous city and nation in the world held playes in great admiration; *ergo*—but it is a rule in logicke, *ex particularibus nihil fit*. These are not the basses we must build upon, nor the columnes that must support our architecture.

*Et latro, et cautus precingitur ense viator :
Ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem.*

Both theeves and true-men weapons weare alike :
Th' one to defend, the other comes to strike.

Let us use fire to warme us, not to scortch us; to make ready our necessaries, not to burne our houses: let us drinke to quench our thirst, not to surfet; and eate to satisfie nature, not to gormondize.

*Comædia rectâ si mente legatur,
Constabit nulli posse nocere.*

Playes are in use as they are understood,
Spectators eyes may make them bad or good.

Shall we condemne a generallity for any one particular misconstruction? give me then leave to argue thus. Amongst kings have there not beene some tyrants? yet the office of a king is the image of the majesty of God. Amongst true subjects have there not crept in some false traitors? even amongst the twelve there was Judas, but shall we for his fault censure worse of the eleven? God forbid! art thou prince or peasant? art thou of the nobility or commonalty? Art thou merchant or souldier? of the citty or country? Art thou preacher or auditor? Art thou tutor or pupill? There have beene of thy function bad and good, prophane and holy. I induce these instances to confirme this common argument, that the use of any generall thing is not for any one particular abuse to be condemned; for if that assertion stooode firme, wee should run into many notable inconveniences.

*Qui locus est templis angustior hanc quoque vitet,
In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam.*

To proceed to the matter. First, playing is an ornament to the citty, which strangers of all nations repairing hither report of in their countries, beholding them here with some admiration; for what variety of entertainment can there be in any citty of christendome more then in London? But some will say, this dish might be very well spared out of the banquet: to him I answere, Diogenes, that used to feede on rootes, cannot relish a march-pane. Secondly, our English tongue, which hath ben the most harsh, uneven, and broken language of the world, part Dutch, part Irish, Saxon, Scotch, Welsh, and indeed a gallimaffry of many, but perfect in none, is now by this secondary meanes of playing continually refined, every writer striving in himselfe to adde a new flourish unto it; so that in processe, from the most rude and unpolisht tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed language, and many excellent workes and elaborate poems writ in the same, that many nations grow inamored of our tongue (before despised.) Neither Saphicke, Ionicke, Iambicke, Phaleuticke, Adonicke, Gliconicke, Hexamiter, Tetramitrer, Pentamiter, Asclepediacke, Choriambicke, nor any other measured verse used among the Greekes, Latins, Italians, French, Dutch, or Spanish writers, but may be exprest in English, be it blanke verse or meeter, in distichon, or hexastichon, or in what forme or feet, or what number you can desire. Thus you see to what excellency our refined English is brought, that in these daies we are ashamed of that euphony and eloquence, which within these 60 yeares the best tongues in the land were proud to pronounce. Thirdly, playes have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English chronicles; and what man have you now of that weake capacity that cannot discourse of any notable thing

recorded even from William the Conquerour, nay, from the landing of Brute, untill this day? beeing possest of their true use, for or because playes are writ with this ayme, and carryed with this methode, to teach their subjects obedience to their king, to shew the people the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults, commotions, and insurrections, to present them with the flourishing estate of such as live in Use of tragedie. obedience, exhorting them to allegiance, dehorting them from all trayterous and fellonious stratagems.

Omne genus scripti gravitate tragedia vincit.

If we present a tragedy, we include the fatal and abortive ends of such as commit notorious murders, which Use of histor-
icall playes. is aggravated and acted with all the art that may be to terrifie men from the like abhorred practises. If wee present a forreigne history, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians, or others, either the vertues of our countrymen are extolled, or their vices reprov'd; as thus, by the example of Cæsar to stir souldiers to valour and magnanimity; by the fall of Pompey that no man trust in his owne strength: we present Alexander killing his friend in his rage, to reprove rashnesse; Mydas, choked with his gold, to taxe covetousnesse; Nero against tyranny; Sardanapalus against luxury; Ninus against ambition, with infinite others, by sundry instances either animating men to noble attempts, or attacking the consciences of the spectators, finding themselves toucht in presenting the vices of others. Use of Morals. If a morall, it is to perswade men to humanity and good life, to instruct them in civility and good manners, shewing them the fruits of honesty, and Use of Come-
dyes. the end of villany.

Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult.

Againe Horace, *Arte Poeticá*,

*At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
Laudavere sales.*

If a comedy, it is pleasantly contrived with merry accidents, and intermixt with apt and witty jests, to present before the prince at certain times of solemnity, or else merily fitted to the stage. And what is then the subject of this harmlesse mirth? either in the shape of a clowne to shew others their slovenly and unhandsome behaviour, that they may reforme that simplicity in themselves which others make their sport, lest they happen to become the like subject of generall scorne to an auditory; else it intreates of love, deriding foolish inamorates, who spend their ages, their spirits, nay themselves, in the servile and ridiculous employments of their mistresses: and these are mingled with sportfull accidents, to recreate such as of themselves are wholly devoted to melancholly, which corrupts the blood, or to refresh such weary spirits as are tired with labour or study, to moderate the cares and heavinesse of the minde, that they may returne to their trades and faculties with more zeale and earnestnesse, after some small, soft, and pleasant retirement. Sometimes they discourse of pantaloones, usurers that have unthrifty sonnes, which both the fathers and sonnes may behold to their instructions: sometimes of curtezans, to divulge their subtelties and snares in which young men may be intangled, shewing them the meanes to avoyd them. If we present a pastorall, we shew the harmlesse love of shepheards diversely moralized, distinguishing betwixt the craft of the citty, and the innocency of the sheep-coat. Briefly, there is neither tragedy, history, comedy, morrall, or pastorall, from which an infinite use cannot be gathered. I speake not in the defence of any lascivious shewes, scurrelous jeasts, or scandalous invectives. If there be any such I banish them quite from my patronage; yet Horace, Sermon I., satyr iv., thus writes:—

Use of Pasto-
rals.

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii quorum comædia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quòd malus, aut fur,*

*Quòd mæchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus, multâ cum libertate notabant.*

Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and other comike poets in the time of Horace, with large scope and unbridled liberty, boldly and plainly scourged all abuses, as in their ages were generally practised, to the staining and blemishing of a faire and beautifull common-weale. Likewise a learned gentleman in his Apology for Poetry speakes thus : Tragedies well handled be a most worthy kind of poesie. Comedies make men see and shame at their faults : and, proceeding further, amongst other University-playes he remembers the Tragedy of Richard the third, acted in St. Johns, in Cambridge, so essentially, that had the tyrant Phalaris beheld his bloody proceedings, it had mollified his heart, and made him relent at sight of his inhuman massacres. Further, he commends of comedies, the Cambridge *Pedantius*, and the Oxford *Bellum Grammaticale* ; and, leaving them, passes on to our publicke playes, speaking liberally in their praise, and what commendable use may be gathered of them. If you peruse *Margarita Poetica*, you may see what excellent uses and sentences he hath gathered out of *Terence* his *Andrea*, *Eunuchus*, and the rest : likewise out of *Plautus*, his *Amphytryo*, *Asinaria* ; and, moreover, *ex Comediis Philodoxis, Caroli Acretini : De falsâ Hypocritâ, et tristi Mercurio, Ronsii Versellensis : ex Comædiâ Philanirâ, Ugolini Parmensis*, all reverend schollers, and comicke poets. Reade elce the 4 tragedies, *Philunica, Petrus, Aman, Katherina, Claudii Roiletti Belvensis*. But I should tire my selfe to reckon the names of all French, Roman, German, Spanish, Italian, and English poets, being in number infinite, and their labours extant to approve their worthinesse.

Is thy minde noble, and wouldst thou be further stir'd up to magnanimity ? Behold upon the stage thou maist see *Hercules, Achilles, Alexander, Cæsar, Alcibiades, Lysander*,

Sertorius, Hannibal, Antigonus, Philip of Macedon, Mithridates of Pontus, Pyrrhus of Epirus : Agesilaus among the Lacedemonians ; Epaminondas amongst the Thebans : Scævola alone entering the armed tents of Porsenna : Horatius Cocles alone withstanding the whole army of the Hetrurians : Leonidas of Sparta choosing a lyon to leade a band of deere, rather then one deere to conduct an army of lyons, with infinite others, in their own persones, qualities, and shapes, animating thee with courage, deterring thee from cowardise. Hast thou of thy country well deserved ? and art thou of thy labour evil requited ? To associate thee thou mayst see the valiant Roman Marcellus pursue Hannibal at Nola, conquering Syracuse, vanquishing the Gauls at Padua, and presently (for his reward) banisht his country into Greece. There thou mayest see Scipio Africanus, now triumphing for the conquest of all Africa, and immediately exil'd the confines of Romania. Art thou inclined to lust ? behold the falles of the Tarquins in the rape of Lucrece ; the guerdon of luxury in the death of Sardanapálus ; Appius destroyed in the ravishing of Virginia, and the destruction of Troy in the lust of Helena. Art thou proud ? our scene presents thee with the fall of Phaeton ; Narcissus pining in the love of his shadow ; ambitious Hamon, now calling himselfe a God, and by and by thrust headlong among the divels. We present men with the ugliness of their vices to make them the more to abhorre them ; as the Persians use, who, above all sinnes loathing drunkennesse, accustomed in their solemne feasts to make their servants and captives extremely overcome with wine, and then call their children to view their nasty and lothsome behaviour, making them hate that sinne in themselves, which shewed so grosse and abominable in others. The like use may be gathered of the drunkards, so naturally imitated in our playes, to the applause of the actor, content of the auditory, and reproving of the vice. Art thou covetous ? go no further then Plautus, his comedy called Euclio.

*Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena
Vixerit, et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit.*

While ther's false servant, or obdurate sire,
Sly baud, smooth whore, Menandros wee'l admire.

To end in a word, art thou addicted to prodigallity, envy, cruelty, perjury, flattery, or rage? our scenes affoord thee store of men to shape your lives by, who be frugall, loving, gentle, trusty, without soothing, and in all things temperate. Wouldst thou be honourable, just, friendly, moderate, devout, mercifull, and loving concord? thou mayest see many of their fates and ruines who have beene dishonourable, unjust, false, gluttonous, sacrilegious, bloody-minded, and brochers of dissention. Women, likewise, that are chaste are by us extolled and encouraged in their vertues, being instanced by Diana, Belphebe, Matilda, Lucrece, and the Countess of Salisbury. The unchaste are by us shewed their errors in the persons of Phryne, Lais, Thais, Flora; and amongst us Rosamond and Mistresse Shore. What can sooner print modesty in the soules of the wanton, then by discovering unto them the monstrosnesse of their sin? It followes, that we prove these exercises to have beene the discoverers of many notorious murders, long concealed from the eyes of the world. To omit all farre-fetched instances, we will prove it by a domestike and home-borne truth, which within these few years happened. At Lin, in Norfolke, the then Earl of Sussex players acting the old History of Feyer Francis, and presenting a woman who, insatiately doting on a yong gentleman, (the more securely to enjoy his affection) mischievously and secreetly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her; and, at divers times, in her most solitary and private contemplations, in most horrid and feareful shapes, appeared and stood before her. As this was acted, a towne's-woman (till then of good estimation and report) finding her conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly

A strange
accident hap-
pening at a
play.

skritch'd and cryd out, Oh ! my husband, my husband ! I see the ghost of my husband fiercely threatning and menacing me ! At which shrill and unexpected outcry, the people about her, moov'd to a strange amazement, inquired the reason of her clamour, when presently, un-urged, she told them that seven yeares ago she, to be possest of such a gentleman (meaning him), had poysoned her husband, whose fearefull image personated it selfe in the shape of that ghost. Whereupon the murtheresse was apprehended, before the justices further examined, and by her voluntary confession after condemned. That this is true, as well by the report of the actors as the records of the towne, there are many eyewitnesses of this accident yet living vocally to confirme it.

A strange
accident hap-
pening at a
play.

As strange an accident happened to a company of the same quality some 12 yeares ago, or not so much ; who, playing late in the night, at a place called Perin in Cornwall, certaine Spaniards were landed the same night, unsuspected and undiscovered, with intent to take in the towne, spoyle, and burne it, when suddenly, even upon their entrance, the players (ignorant as the towne's-men of any such attempt) presenting a battle on the stage, with their drum and trumpets strooke up a lowde alarme : which the enemy hearing, and fearing they were discovered, amazedly retired, made some few idle shot, in a bravado, and so, in a hurly-burly, fled disorderly to their boats. At the report of this tumult, the towne's-men were immediately armed, and pursued them to the sea, praying God for their happy deliverance from so great a danger, who by his providence made these strangers the instrument and secondary meanes of their escape from such imminent mischife, and the tyranny of so remorseless an enemy.

A strange
accident
happening
at a play.

Another of the like wonder happened at Amsterdam in Holland. A company of our English comedians (well knowne) travelling those countreyes, as they were before the burgers and other

the chiefe inhabitants, acting the last part of the Four Sons of Aymon, towards the last act of the history, where penitent Rinaldo, like a common labourer, lived in disguise, vowing as his last pennance to labour and carry burdens to the structure of a goodly church there to be erected; whose diligence the labourers envying, since by reason of his stature and strength, hee did usually perfect more worke in a day then a dozen of the best (hee working for his conscience, they for their luces), whereupon, by reason his industry had so much disparaged their living, conspired among themselves to kill him, waiting some opportunity to finde him asleepe, which they might easily doe, since the sorest labourers are the soundest sleepers, and industry is the best preparative to rest. Having spy'd their opportunity, they drave a naile into his temples, of which wound immediatly he dyed. As the actors handled this, the audience might on a sodaine understand an out-cry, and loud shriek in a remote gallery; and pressing about the place, they might perceive a woman of great gravity strangely amazed, who with a distracted and troubled braine oft sighed out these words: "Oh, my husband, my husband!" The play, without further interruption, proceeded: the woman was to her owne house conducted, without any apparant suspition; every one conjecturing as their fancies led them. In this agony she some few dayes languished, and on a time, as certaine of her well disposed neighbours came to comfort her, one amongst the rest being church-warden: to him the sexton posts, to tell him of a strange thing happening to him in the ripping up of a grave: See here (quoth he) what I have found; and shewes them a faire skull, with a great nayle pierst quite through the braine-pan: But we cannot conjecture to whom it should belong, nor how long it hath laine in the earth, the grave being confused, and the flesh consumed. At the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discovered a former murder; for 12 yeares ago, by driving that nayle into that skull, being the head of her husband, she

had trecherously slaine him. This being publickly confest, she was arraigned, condemned, adjudged, and burned. But I draw my subject to greater length then I purposed: these therefore out of other infinites I have collected, both for their familiarnesse and latenesse of memory.

Thus, our antiquity we have brought from the Grecians in the time of Hercules; from the Macedonians in the age of Alexander; from the Romans long before Julius Cæsar; and since him, through the reigns of 23 emperours succeeding, even to Marcus Aurelius: after him they were supported by the Mantuans, Venetians, Valencians, Neapolitans, the Florentines, and others: since, by the German princes, the Palsgrave, the Landsgrave, the dukes of Saxony, of Brounswicke, &c. The cardinall at Bruxels hath at this time in pay a company of our English comedians. The French king allowes certaine companies in Paris, Orleans, besides other cities: so doth the king of Spaine, in Civill, Madrill, and other provinces. But in no country they are of that eminence that our's are: so our most royall and ever renounced soveraigne hath licenced us in London: so did his predecessor, the thrice vertuous virgin, Queene Elizabeth; and before her, her sister, Queene Mary, Edward the sixth, and their father, Henry the eighth: and before these, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the fourth, *Anno* 1490. John Stowe, an ancient and grave chronicler, records (amongst other varieties tending to the like effect) that a play was acted at a place called Skinners-well, fast by Clerken-well, which continued eight dayes, and was of matter from Adam and Eve (the first creation of the world). The spectators were no worse then the royalty of England. And amongst other commendable exercises in this place, the Company of the Skinners of London held certaine yearely solemne playes; in place whereof, now in these latter daies, the wrastling, and such other pastimes have been kept, and is still held about Bartholmew-tide. Also in the yeare 1290, the 14 yeare of the reigne of

Richard the second, the 18 of July, were the like enterludes recorded of at the same place, which continued 3 dayes together, the king and queene, and nobility being there present. Moreover, to this day in divers places of England there be townes that hold the priviledge of their faires, and other charters by yearely stage-plays, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall in the north, and others. To let these passe, as things familiarly knowne to all men. Now, to speake of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as an inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the citty, and their governments, with the particularizing of private men's humors (yet alive), noble-men, and others: I know it distastes many; neither do I any way approve it, nor dare I by any meanes excuse it. The liberty which some arrogate to themselves, committing their bitterness, and liberall invectives against all estates, to the mouthes of children, supposing their juniority to be a priviledge for any rayling, be it never so violent, I could advise all such to curbe and limit this presumed liberty within the bands of discretion and government. But wise and judiciall censurers, before whom such complaints shall at any time hereafter come, wil not (I hope) impute these abuses to any transgression in us, who have ever been carefull and provident to shun the like. I surcease to prosecute this any further, lest my good meaning be (by some) misconstrued; and fearing likewise, lest with tediousnesse I tire the patience of the favourable Reader, heere
 (though abruptly) I conclude
 my third and last

TREATISE.

Stultitiam patiuntur opes, mihi parvula res est.

To my approved good Friend,

MR. NICHOLAS OKES.

THE infinite faults escaped in my booke of Britaines Troy by the negligence of the printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of sillables, misplacing halfe lines, coining of strange and never heard of words, these being without number, when I would have taken a particular account of the *errata*, the printer answered me, hee would not publish his owne dis-workemanship, but rather let his owne fault lye upon the necke of the author. And being fearefull that others of his quality had beene of the same nature and condition, and finding you, on the contrary, so carefull and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the author all the rights of the presse, I could not choose but gratulate your honest indeavours with this short remembrance. Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke, by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him, and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but, as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author, I know, much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknowne to him), presumed to make so bold with his name. These and the like dishonesties I knowe

you to bee cleere of; and I could wish but to
bee the happy author of so worthy a
worke as I could willingly com-
mit to your care and
workmanship.

Yours, ever,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

NOTES.

Page 4, line 9. I need alledge no more then the royall and princely services in which we now live.] Alluding to the fact that, on the accession of James I., the king took into his service the Lord Chamberlain's players, the queen those of the Earl of Worcester, and Prince Henry those of the Earl of Nottingham. *Vide* "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 61, *Note*.

Page 4, line 22. Learned Doctor Gager, Doctor Gentiles, and others.] Drs. Gager and Gentiles were the adversaries of Dr. Rainoldes in the "controversy" which ended in the publication of "The Overthrow of Stage Playes," by the latter, in 1599 or 1600.

Page 4, line 31. True gatherers.] The "gatherers" were what we now call the money-takers at the doors of theatres. Actors at this time were generally "sharers" of the profits, and faithful receivers of money paid on admission were therefore important. See the term more fully explained in "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," III. 403.

Page 8, line 21. Ar. Hopton.] The author of these laudatory stanzas died two years after they were printed. He was a young man of extraordinary attainments and promise. *Vide* Wood's *Ath. Oxon*, II. 151. Edit. Bliss.

Page 9, line 20. John Webster.] All that was then known about this highly-gifted dramatic author was collected and published by the Rev. A. Dyce, in his edition of Webster's Works, 4 vols. post 8vo., 1830. Henslowe's Diary supplies information of much interest respecting some lost productions by Webster.

Page 10, line 27. Rich. Perkins.] The name of this actor, who did not attain his highest eminence until some years after 1612, occurs in Henslowe's Diary. For him Marlowe's "Rich Jew of Malta" was revived by Heywood, and printed in 1633.

Page 11, line 13. Christopher Beeston.] This actor's name also occurs late in Henslowe's Diary. He afterwards became a player at the Cockpit theatre in Drury Lane, for which Heywood wrote; and in 1636 he was the master of a company of juvenile performers.

Page 11, line 22. Robert Pallant.] This actor subsequently joined the King's Company, and arrived at some eminence.

Page 12, line 34. John Taylor.] This person is not to be confounded with Joseph Taylor, the actor, who has been mistakenly supposed to have been the original Hamlet, a part which was first sustained by Richard Burbage. John Taylor was known as "the Water-poet," because he commenced life as apprentice to a waterman, and for some years followed the occupation. He was an extremely voluminous author, and his collected works were printed in 1630, folio.

Page 15, line 18. It hath pleased the high and mighty Princes of this land to limit the use of certain publicke theaters.] This passage appears to refer to the orders of the Privy Council to limit the number of theatres in use at the end of the reign of Elizabeth. *Vide* "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," I. 311, &c.

Page 15, line 26. To stop the envious acclamations of those who challenge to themselves a priveledge invective, &c.] This passage, and some others of the same kind, refer generally to such works as the "Invective" of Stephen Gosson, under the title of "the School of Abuse," "the Anatomy of Abuses," by Philip Stubbes, &c.

Page 16, line 27. I might behold the colour of her fresh roabe, all crimson breathed, &c.] This expression is further explained by a line in the blank-verse speech, which Heywood subsequently puts into the mouth of Melpomene:

"Such with their breath have blasted my fresh roabe."

Page 23, line 11. If such rich wages thou wilt give to me.] These concluding lines had already been used by Gosson in his "School of Abuse." *Vide* p. 19 of our reprint.

Page 29, line 15. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase.] So Hamlet, Act III., Scene 2—"Suit the action to the word, the word to the action."

Page 40, line 10. The king of Denmarke, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his service a company of English comedians.] See also p. 58, where it is said that an English company was performing in Amsterdam. No date is given, but circumstances shew that it must have been subsequent to 1602.

Page 43, line 6. Knell, Bentley, Mils, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others, these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, &c.] We may conclude from this passage that these celebrated actors were dead before 1596, which, as has been shown in the Introduction, was, in all probability, the date of Heywood's earliest connection with the stage.

Page 43, line 13. Here I must needs remember Tarleton, in his time gracious with the queene.] Richard Tarlton died in September, 1588. Many materials for a separate life of this extraordinary actor might be collected: he has furnished some of them himself, and he is mentioned by many writers of his own time and afterwards.

Page 43, line 16. Whom succeeded Wil. Kemp.] Thomas Nash, about 1589, the year after Tarlton's death, calls Kemp "Jest-monger and Vicegerent general to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton." There are several entries in Henslowe's Diary, shewing that Kemp belonged to the company acting under Alleyn's management in 1602, although he had been one of the Lord Chamberlain's players, in 1596. He probably commenced as an actor with Alleyn about 1586 or 1587, then joined the association to which Shakespeare was attached, and finally returned to his old quarters.

Page 43, line 18. Gabriel.] i. e., Gabriel Spencer, who was killed by Ben Jonson—*Vide* "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," page 51. He seems to have been generally known by his christian name; and so he is spoken of by Henslowe, in his letter of 26th September, 1598. This opportunity may be taken to correct an error in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," where it is said that two persons of the christian name of Gabriel belonged to Henslowe's company in 1598; viz., Gabriel Spencer and Gabriel Singer. The name of the latter was John Singer, and no Gabriel Singer occurs in Henslowe's Diary. The mistake originated, probably, in Collier's "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," I. 351., where "Gabriel" is misprinted for *John*.

Page 43, line 26. They should be rather schollers.] We ought, perhaps, to read *either* for "rather."

Page 44, line 26. A booke called Wit's Commonwealth.] The celebrated work, by Francis Meres, printed in 1598, 12mo., which contains, on Sig. O o 2, the often-quoted enumeration of twelve of Shakespeare's dramas, including "Love's Labours Won," and "Titus Andronicus."

Page 45, line 24. Therefore M. Kid, in his Spanish Tragedy, upon occasion presenting itselfe, thus writes.] The lines here quoted by Heywood occur in Act V. of the "Spanish Tragedy." It is upon Heywood's authority that the play has been attributed to Thomas Kyd.

Page 49, line 20. *ἀχὺν δονος ποροίχην.*] So it stands in the original; and it is, perhaps, impossible now to set the corruption right, as Heywood does not quote his authority.

Page 55, line 7. Likewise a learned gentleman in his Apologie for Poetry.] Heywood here quotes from Sir John Harington's "Apologie of Poetrie." prefixed to his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in 1591.

Page 58, line 6. [Meaning him.] "Meaning" is misprinted in the original for *namimg*. Cartwright did not detect and correct the error in his re-impression. In the same way, in line 17, he allowed "Perin, in Cornwall," to stand, instead of *Penrin*, or *Penryn*.

Page 61, line 8. Now to speake of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as inveighing against the state, &c.] The following passage from the epistle before H. Parrot's "More the Merrier," 4to., 1608, will not be out of place:—"As for satyrick inveighing at any man's private person (a kind of writing which, of late, seemes to have been very familiar among our poets and players, to their cost), my reader is to seeke it elsewhere." See also, upon this point, a very curious account in Von Raumer's "History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," (II. 219) of the interference of the French Ambassador in April, 1606, to punish the actors and put a stop to the performance of Chapman's play, on the Life of the Duke of Biron, in consequence of the introduction of the Queen of France into it, giving a box on the ear to Mademoiselle de Verneuil. From the same work it appears that James I. had been represented on the stage two days before.

Page 62, line 15. Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done to me, &c.] This passage establishes that the edition of "The Passionate Pilgrim," with the date of 1612, was published before Heywood's "Apology for Actors" came out in the same year. It was in that work that Jaggard, the careless and fraudulent printer, inserted "the two Epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris," which Heywood had translated in his "Great Britain's Troy." Jaggard attributed them to Shakespeare. Malone had a copy of "The Passionate Pilgrim," with two title-pages; in one of which a correction was made, perhaps, in consequence of Heywood's remonstrance.

FINIS.

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